HE GERMANY

OF

C. CORNELIUS TACITUS,

FROM PASSOW'S TEXT;

AND

THE AGRICOLA,

FROM BROTIER'S TEXT:

WITH CRITICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS, PARTLY ORIGINAL, AND PARTLY COLLECTED,

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OF THETFORD, NORFOLK.

FOURTH EDITION REVISED,
FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGE-LECTURES.

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PREFACE

TO

THE FOURTH EDITION.

THE favorable reception, which this Work has experienced from the public, has induced the Editor to revise it with the greatest care; and it now perhaps appears in a form better adapted for the student and the scholar. In the *Germany* the text of Francis Passow, whose excellent Edition was republished in 1817, has been followed, and several of his judicious Notes have been introduced, which chiefly relate to the vindication or the correction of the text; but the *Agricola* is given from the text of Gabriel Brotier, a few of whose Notes are inserted. An Edition on so small a scale, as that now offered to the public, will not admit of very elaborate discussion, and, while the Editor may, in some few instances, have inserted a long Note, he has generally contented himself with selecting such, as are rather brief than long; he trusts, however, that in the selection he has always

kept utility in view, and that, if he has not on every occasion successfully, with the aid of his learned predecessors, removed the corruptions and the obscurities of the text, he has at least furnished his readers with some means of forming clear ideas on the points in dispute. The 3rd Edition of Dr. John Aikin's *Translation* of these Tracts, published in 1815, has been advantageously consulted in some instances.

The Editor of the Work is aware that it is imperfect in many respects, though almost every Note, which the previous Edition contained, has been re-written; and he will be happy to receive any communications, which suggest improvements for a future Edition. The Editor's attention will next be called to an Edition of Cicero's *Catilinarian Orations*, which he will publish in the same form. He ventures to hope that the classical instructors of British youth will encourage his efforts to reform the present system of our classical School-books, of which a great part, (though there are some splendid exceptions,) is founded on old Editions, which are susceptible of infinite improvements from the labours of numerous Scholars, who have appeared in these latter times. A little industry, a little learning, and a little research alone are required to present the rising generation with the golden fruit of these labours; and if classical literature be an object of prime importance in the education of our youth, it is of the greatest consequence that every facility should be

afforded for communicating a perfect acquaintance with the languages of Greece and Rome, because their utility to the student chiefly depends on the perfection, with which they are taught by the instructor. That knowledge, which has been imperfectly communicated, is at once incommunicable to others and unprofitable to the possessor; that learning, which is not accurate, will soon escape from the memory, because the lamp, which is expected to burn, must be well supplied with oil, and, when the possessor finds the trouble of supplying it irksome, he will abandon it to its fate; that erudition, which aspires to a niche in the Temple of Fame, must pass through the Portals of Industry and Accuracy.

Thetford, Nov. 1827.

E. H. BARKER.

BREVIARIUM

LIBELLI DE SITU, MORIBUS, ET POPULIS GERMANIÆ.

I. *Germaniæ situs.* II. *Incolæ; Nominis origo.* III. *Carmina, barditus; variæque antiquitates.* IV. *Corporum habitus.* V. *Soli natura.* VI. *Germanorum arma.* VII. *Reges, duces, sacerdotes.* VIII. *Feminarum constantia et veneratio.* IX. *Dii, Mercurius, Hercules, Mars, Isis; Simulacra nulla.* X. *Auspicia, sortes; ex equis, e captivis præsagia.* XI. *Consultationes publicæ et conventus.* XII. *Pœnæ; Jus.* XIII. *Scutum, framea juvenibus data. Principum comites; eorum virtus et fama.* XIV. *Gentis bellica studia.* XV. *Pacis artes, venatio et otium; Collata principibus munera.* XVI. *Vicorum domorumque forma; Specus, suffugium hiemi, et receptaculum frugibus.* XVII. *Hominum, feminarumque vestitus.* XVIII. *Severa matrimonia; Dos a marito data.* XIX. *Adulterii pœna, maritis permissa.* XX. *Liberorum educatio; Successionis leges.* XXI. *Patris, propinqui amicitiæ inimicitiæque susceptæ; Homicidiorum pretia; Hospitalitas.* XXII. *Victus; ebrietas; rixæ; in conviviis consultationes.* XXIII. *Potus, cibi.* XXIV. *Juventæ ludicrum; Aleæ furor.* XXV. *Servi, libertini.* XXVI. *Agrorum cultus et partitio. Anni tempora.* XXVII. *Funera. Hæc hactenus in commune.* XXVIII. *Singularum gentium instituta; Galli, olim validi, in Germaniam transgressi; Helvetii, Boii, Gallica gens; Avarisco-*

rum, Osorum incertum genus. Treveri, Nervii, Germanicæ originis populi, ut et Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes, Ubii. XXIX. *Batavi, Cattorum proles ; Mattiacorum gens ; Decumates agri.* XXX. *Catti, militari disciplinâ præcipui.* XXXII. *Usipii, Tencteri, equitatu præstantes.* XXXIII. *Bructerorum sedes a Chamavis et Angrivariis occupatæ.* XXXIV. *Dulgibini ; Chasuari ; Frisii majores et minores.* XXXV. *Chauci, pacis studiosi.* XXXVI. *Cherusci et Fosi, a Cattis victi.* XXXVII. *Cimbrorum parva civitas, gloria ingens.* XXXVIII. *Suevorum mores.* XXXIX. *Semnonum religio.* XL. *Langobardi ; Reudigni ; Aviones ; Angli ; Varini ; Eudoses ; Suardones ; Nuithones ; Herthæ, seu Terræ matris, commune sacrum.* XLI. *Hermunduri.* XLII. *Narisci, Marcomanni. Quadi.* XLIII. *Marsigni ; Gothini ; Osi ; Burii ; Lygiorum civitates ; Arii ; Helvecones ; Manimi ; Elysii ; Naharvali ; Alcis numen ; Gothones.* XLIV. *Suionum civitates.* XLV. *Mare pigrum. Æstii succinum legunt ; Sitones, quibus femina imperat.* XLVI. *Peucini ; Venedi ; Fenni, eorum feritas et paupertas ; Hominum monstra, Hellusii, Oxiones.*

Libellum hunc scripsit Tacitus

A. C. J.C.
DCCCLI. 98. Coss. { M. COCCEIO Nervâ Aug. IV.
M. ULPIO Trajano Cæsare II.

C. CORNELII TACITI

DE SITU, MORIBUS,

ET

POPULIS GERMANIÆ

LIBELLUS.

GERMANIA omnis[1] a Gallis Rhætisque et Pannoniis, Rheno et Danubio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque, mutuo metu, aut montibus separatur. Cetera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus[2] et insularum immensa spatia complectens,

[1] *Germania omnis.* "Celtarum appellatio ap. vetustissimos Græcos communis fuit non tantum omnibus in Europæ continente populis, sed et divisis freto Hispanis et insularum Britannicarum incolis: posteriores vero eadem solum Germanos, Gallos, et Illyrios comprehenderunt, et ex his aliqui cum Κελτοὺς nominant, *Germanos* tantum intelligunt, et per Κελτικὴν, *ambitum Germaniæ,* a cujus propria et vera denominatione, quam antiquissimi quoque Latini suam fecerant, Græcos abstinuisse, ignotum qua religione, L. i. c. 14. docui." Reines. *Var. Lectt.* 3, i. p. 306.

[2] " *Sinus* cave accipias de mari. Sinus omne id, quod curvaturam facit, Serv. ad Virg. *Æn.* ii, 626. hinc *flexus sinuosus.* Virg. G. i, 244. *litora sinuosa,* Val. Fl. 2, 452. similia: ita ut haud rectius de mari, quam de terra adhibeatur. Cum vero curvaturæ et linearum et planitierum duorum sint generum, deflexæ et inflexæ, acclives et depressæ; non multifarius tantum, sed et contrarius hinc existit vocabuli nostri usus.—Ut jam ad nostrum locum revertar, *sinum* de mari intelligere statim vetat,

nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus, ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit. Rhenus, Rhæticarum Alpium inaccesso ac præcipiti vertice ortus, modico flexu, in Occidentem versus, septentrionali Oceano miscetur. Danubius, molli et clementer edito[1] montis Abnobæ jugo effusus, plures populos adit, donec in Ponticum mare sex meatibus erumpat; septimum enim os paludibus hauritur.

2. Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim, miniméque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos; quia nec terrâ olim, sed classibus advehebantur,[2] qui mutare sedes

quod addidit, verbum Tacitus, *efficit sinum Oceanus*, ut Plin. *H. N.* 9, 2. *complectitur* neque se ipsum, neque sui ipsius partes, sed terras, peninsulas, insulas. Nulla jam superest dubitatio, quin de eodem, quo cc. 29. 37., sinu loquatur, recteque sibi finxerat hanc Germaniæ oram septentrionem versus magno flexu in Oceanum recedentem. Unum tantum in his assentientem habeo, sed Schlœzerum, *Hist. Univ. Septentr.* 141." Passow.

[1] *Clementer edito.* "Clemens de locis leniter acclivibus, et quæ facile ascendi possunt, cui opponitur *præceps, arduus, inaccessus:* Apul. *Met.* 4. [p. 144.] *Clementi denique transmisso clivulo, pervenimus ad locum destinatum:* Tac. *Ann.* 13, 38." [*Cujus pars altera colles erant clementer assurgentes, Hist.* 4, 23. *Pars castrorum in collem leniter exsurgens, pars æquo adibatur:*] "Colum. 2, 2. *Collis clementer et molliter assurgens:* Senec. *Œd.* 280. *cœlum petens Clementer acto colle Parnassus biceps:* Sil. 1, 274. *Clementer crescente jugo:* Tac. *Hist.* 3, 52. *Si qua Apennini juga clementius adirentur,*" ['i. e. facile et sine magno labore,' Gesner. *Thes.*,] "*Ann.* 12, 33. *Si qua clementer accedi poterant.*" Forcellin. See Heindorf. ad Cic. *de N. D.* 2, 57. p. 259.

[2] *Advehebantur.* "*Vehi* est de loco ad locum se conferre s. equo, s. pedibus, s. lectica, s. curru, s. navi etc. Suet. *Tib.* 6. 60. *Domit.* 19. *Claud.* 28. *Ner.* 9. 29. Sic mox, *aditur navibus.*" Longol. But why should we not suppose that Tac. is employing a figure of speech, to which he is partial, and of which one instance has already been produced, and that after *terra* we should understand some verb analogous to the sense, such as *adveniebant?* Examples have been given by me ad Cic. *de Senect.* 1. p. 89. and from the Greek Writers in *Classical Journal* 3, 596. Foreigners, who have passed by sea from one country to another, are called *advecti.* Tac. *Agric.* 11. *Indigenæ an advecti.* *Advehor* is generally so used with *navi,* Sulpic. ad Cic. *Fam.* 4, 12. *Cum ab Epidauro*

quærebant, et immensus ultrà, utque sic dixerim, adversus Oceanus[1] raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur. Quis

Piræum navi advectus essem, Virg. *Æn.* 8, 11. *Advectum Ænean classi.*

[1] " *Utque sic dixerim, adversus Oceanus.* Ista veniæ præfatio nos admonet, quovis potius vocabulo, quam illo, quod legimus, usum fuisse Tac. Quid enim magis proprie dici posset, quam *adversus Oceanus?* Deinde ipsa sententia absurda est in ista lectione. Quid enim adversus iste maris situs s. oppositus efficeret, quo minus a nostro orbe adiretur? Lego equidem *abstrusus.* Ex *abstrusus* primum factum erat *abstersus*, unde demum aliquis *adversus* exscripsit. Serv. ad Virg. *Æn.* 6, 7.: *Abstrudere, est industria celare.* Erit ergo Oceanus, quem natura quasi celare voluerit." Crus. *Probab. Cr.* 33. " Lipsii explicationem, *Mare contrarium, navigantibus difficile*, cui *secundum mare* opponit ipse Tac. *Ann.* 2, 98. adoptaverim, nisi addidisset Noster, *utque sic dixerim, adversus Oceanus.* Hinc reconditi quid in adjectivo latere haud dubium: Oceanus, extra orbem Romanum situs, eodem sensu *adversus* dictus esse videtur, quo Ciceroni *Somn. Sc.* 6. de remotissimis regionibus locuturo, *Aversa terræ pars.*" Passow. But, as *aversus* and *adversus* are opposed to each other in general, it is scarcely possible to suppose that in this particular passage Tac. should have violated the propriety of his native language by using *adversus* for *aversus.* Colum. 1, 5, 4. *Cavendum tamen erit, ut a tergo potius quam præ se flumen habeat; ut ædificii frons aversa sit ab infestis ejus regionis ventis, et amicissimis adversa.* Cic. *de Orat.* 2, 256. *Si tu et adversus et aversus impudicus es.* If therefore Passow has rightly interpreted the passage, he should read *aversus* for *adversus*, with Acidalius and Pichena. Tacitus himself immediately subjoins, *Quis porro, præter periculum horridi et ignoti maris. Mare horridum* is *mare adversum;* but *mare ignotum* is *mare aversum.* I regard as a matter of perfect indifference to the sense, whether we read *adversus Oceanus* or *aversus*, because we see from Tac.'s own explanation of the phrase that both the ideas were in his mind. But I decidedly object to any alteration of the text, when the word sanctioned by all the Mss. is capable of an intelligible and precise meaning, and when that general word sufficiently admits the particular idea involved in the other. The German Ocean might be called by Tac. *adversus*, "hostile," as Brotier rightly understood it, and as Dr. Aikin properly translates it; and it was so, partly because it was remote and therefore seldom visited by the Roman vessels, and partly because it was *contrarius, navigantibus difficilis*, as Lipsius properly explains it. Now to speak of an Ocean as *aversus*, "remote," is surely an expression, which requires not the aid of any apology like this, *utque sic dixerim, aversus Oceanus;* and

porro, præter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia, aut

the metaphorical use of the word *aversus* would not have called forth from the Topographer this softening phrase, *ut sic dixerim*, because the meaning would have been sufficiently obvious, and the use of it was familiar to the Roman ears. Liv. 37, 27. *Ad aversa insulæ trajicere*, Vell. 2, 63. *Per aversa castrorum*, Plin. 4, 11. *Aversa montis*, 37, 8. *Indiæ*, "h. e. ultimæ et longinquiores regiones Indiæ," Forcellin. But to speak of the Ocean as *adversus*, "*hostile*," is certainly an unusual mode of speech in a prosaic writer, and therefore properly prefaced by an apology. Tacitus in ch. 34. says :—" *Nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico; sed* obstitit *Oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri.*" The obstacles interposed by the Ocean were the same, as those alluded to in the passage under consideration, viz. difficulty of navigation and remoteness of situation: had Tac. here used the epithet *adversus*, it would have been quite as proper and as intelligible, as in the other passage; and so Longolius thought, when he wrote thus, "*Oceanus obstitit* idem est quod *adversus Oceanus*." Brotier has well illustrated the subject by referring to that most sublime description of a storm, which is given by Tac. *Ann.* 2, 23. and which merits transcription on that account:—" Sed æstate jam adulta, legionum aliæ itinere terrestri in hibernacula remissæ: plures Cæsar classi impositas per flumen Amisiam Oceano invexit. Ac primo placidum æquor mille navium remis strepere, aut velis impelli: mox atro nubium globo effusa grando simul variis undique procellis, incerti fluctus prospectum adimere, regimen impedire: milesque pavidus, et casuum maris ignarus, dum turbat nautas, vel intempestive juvat, officia prudentium corrumpebat: omne dehinc cœlum, et mare omne in austrum cessit, qui tumidis Germaniæ terris, profundis amnibus, immenso nubium tractu validus, et rigore vicini septentrionis horridior, rapuit disjecitque naves in aperta Oceani, aut insulas saxis abruptis, vel per occulta vada infestas. Quibus paulum ægreque vitatis, postquam mutabat æstus, eodemque, quo ventus ferebat, non adhærere anchoris, non exhaurire inrumpentes undas poterant: equi, jumenta, sarcinæ, etiam arma præcipitantur, quo levarentur alvei manantes per latera et fluctu superurgente. Quanto violentior cetero mari Oceanus, et truculentia cœli præstat Germania, tantum illa clades novitate et magnitudine excessit, hostilibus circum litoribus, aut ita vasto et profundo, ut credatur novissimum ac sine terris mare: pars navium haustæ sunt; plures, apud insulas longius sitas ejectæ; milesque nullo illic hominum cultu, fame absumtus, nisi quos corpora equorum eodem elisa toleraverant. Sola Germanici triremis Chaucorum terram appulit;

Africa, aut Italia relicta, Germaniam peteret, informem terris,[1] asperam cœlo,[2] tristem cultu aspectuque,[3] nisi si

quem per omnes illos dies noctesque, apud scopulos et prominentes oras, cum se tanti exitii reum clamitaret, vix cohibuere amici, quominus eodem mari oppeteret. Tandem relabente æstu, et secundante vento, claudæ naves raro remigio, aut intentis vestibus, et quædam a validioribus tractæ, revertêre: quas raptim refectas misit, ut scrutarentur insulas: collecti ea cura plerique: multos Angrivarii nuper in fidem accepti redemtos ab interioribus reddidere: quidam in Britanniam rapti, et remissi a regulis. Ut quis ex longinquo revenerat, miracula narrabant, vim turbinum, et inauditas volucres, monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et belluarum formas: visa, sive ex metu credita." If this Ocean be in the one passage called *violentior, hostilibus circum litoribus*," who can for a moment doubt that Tac. might in the passage under consideration speak of it as *adversus*, "hostile?"

[1] *Informem terris.* What Tac. means by this expression, will be felt by those, who compare with it what he says in ch. 5. *Terra, etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum tamen aut silvis horrida, aut paludibus fœda*, and who recollect that in *Ann.* 2, 23. he says, *Tumidis Germaniæ terris*, "the mountainous countries of Germany." Longolius is mistaken in supposing that Tac. intended to speak of the sterile appearance of Germany:—"Sic quoque Seneca *de Prov.* 4. *Germanos maligne solum sterile sustentat.* Enimvero nondum extra omnem dubitationem positum est, Germaniam omnem adeo informem fuisse. Nam si vel maxime concedamus, eas regiones, in quibus Romani incursiones fecerunt, sive steriles fuisse, s. potius, ob rationes politicas, incultas jacuisse, an exinde tuto colligere licet, Germaniam omnem si non desertam, certe incultam fuisse? Deinde probe notandum est, vett. Germanos non amavisse luxum: eorum igitur terras incultas esse, Romanos luxui deditos exinde falso collegisse mirum non est." The culture and aspect of the soil are mentioned by Tac. in what immediately follows, *tristem cultu aspectuque*, and besides in ch. 5. he represents Germany as "*satis ferax.*" Dr. Aikin's version is therefore faulty:—"*A land rude in its surface*, rigorous in its climate, cheerless to every beholder and cultivator except a native." Horat. *Sat.* 1, 8, 14. *Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus, atque Aggere in aprico spatiari, qua modo tristes Albis* informem *spectabant ossibus agrum.*

[2] *Asperam cœlo.* Seneca l. c., *Germanos triste cœlum premit.*

[3] *Tristem cultu aspectuque.* Seneca l. c., *Germanos maligne solum sterile sustentat.* Tac. *Germ.* c. 5. *Terra etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum tamen aut*

patria sit? Celebrant carminibus antiquis, (quod unum apud illos memoriæ et annalium genus est,) "Tuistonem deum, terrâ editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoresque. Manno tres filios adsignant, e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingævones, medii Hermiones, ceteri Istævones vocentur." Quidam,[1] ut in licentia vetustatis,[2] "plures deo ortos, pluresque gentis appella-

silvis horrida, aut paludibus fœda,—satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum impatiens. "Est metonym. effectus pro causa. *Tristis cultu* est ergo terra, quam etsi optime colas, et studiosissime ares, tamen nihil proferet, e quo lætitiam capere possis, Cic. *de N. D.* 2, 40. Idem fere de Thracia Mela 2, 2, 4. dicit, *Regio nec cœlo læta, nec solo.*" Longol.

Thus we see that these expressions, *informem terris, asperam cœlo, tristem cultu aspectuque,* the explanation of which has occasioned no small trouble to the commentators, have their specific meaning; and I may be permitted to remark that this passage shows very clearly the importance of verbal criticism, and should teach those, who affect to despise it from their ignorance of its use, on what a slender foundation their knowledge of classical authors rests. That the art may be abused, and that it has been abused by misguided ingenuity, is indeed a lamentable circumstance; but who would proscribe Poetry and Eloquence, the fairest of the Muses, because they are employed to subvert the constitution of a country, or to pervert and debase the morals of mankind?

[1] *Quidam,* the Germans? or the Roman historians? What precedes, is evidently matter put into the mouth of the Germans themselves, *Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriæ et annalium genus est,—assignant,—vocentur;* and therefore *quidam* might well be supposed to mean the same Germans, and yet it is more natural to refer it to the remarks of certain Roman writers, than to the barbarous Germans, who can scarcely be considered as having indulged in such historical speculations.

[2] *Ut in licentia vetustatis.* "Ovid. *Trist.* 2, 57. *Per patriam, qua re tuta et secura parente est, Cujus et in populo pars ego nuper eram,* literam muto et scribo *ut in populo,* patriæ nimirum: sic *de Ponto* 1, 8. *In quibus, ut populo, pars ego parva fui: Trist.* 1, 1. *Si quis, ut in populo nostri non immemor illo, Si quis, qui quid agam, forte requiret, erit,* ubi malim *illic: de Ponto* 4, 5. *Si quis, ut in populo, qui sit is, et unde, requirit:* Stat. *Theb.* 5, 148. *studia in contraria rapti Dissensus ut plebe solet:* Tacit. *Hist.* 1, 55. *Quibusdam, ut in tumultu, notabilius turbantibus:* 4, 33. *Id solum ut in tumultu monuit.* Recte igitur feceris, si veteris libri,

tiones, Marsos, Gambrivios, Suevos, Vandalios" affirmant; "eaque vera et antiqua nomina. Ceterum Germaniæ vocabulum recens,[1] et nuper additum; quoniam,

quem Rhenanus habuit, scripturam contextui donaveris, *de Mor. Germ.* 2. *Quidam ut in licentia vetustatis—affirmant:* male hactenus fuit, *Quidam autem licentia: Hist.* 2, 34. *Tanquam in populo ac plebe.*" Zinzerlingii *Crit. Juven. Promulsis* p. 281. in. *Syntagmate Critico variorum Auctorum e Bibl. J. Herm. Schminckii.* Passow has restored *ut in licentia* from Codd. Vat. duo et Edit. Nor.

[1] *Recens et nuper additum. Recens* is here an adjective. Dr. Hill in his Work on Latin Synonyms has justly stated the difference between *novus* and *recens:*—" That event is *novus,* which occurs for the first time; that again is *recens,* which has occurred lately, in respect to a specified time. *Recens* differs from *novus* in regarding the object as having come lately, and not just into existence: every thing, to which the first is applicable, must have been in that state, in which the last once was; when specified by *recens* however, its *novitas* is over, and as much removed from the hearer's conception, as if it had never existed. Cic. *in Verr.* 2, 2. *Cum e provincia recens esset, invidiaque et infamia non recenti, sed vetere et diuturno flagraret:* though Verres had not just arrived from his province, yet he had done so but a short time before, and that odium and infamy, to which he was exposed, were so much the worse for having been of long standing. Cic. *ad Fam.* 11, 21.: *Quocirca Segulium negligamus, qui res novas quærit: non quo veterem comederit; nullam enim habuit; sed hanc ipsam recentem novam devoravit.* This fortune of Segulius was *recens,* because acquired but lately; and it was *novus,* because he had enjoyed nothing of the kind before: by the first, the Orator marks the rapid consumption of the spendthrift; and by the last, the wretched poverty, in which he had spent the whole of his former life." Juvenal 2, 102. has carefully observed the distinction between *novus* and *recens* in this passage:

Res memoranda novis annalibus, atque recenti
Historia, speculum civilis sarcina belli.

To record such a thing required annals of a *new* kind; Roman Annals could present nothing like to it, and it would form a prominent feature in the history of *modern* times, and the catalogue of *recent* occurrences. To suppose that the Satirist had said *annalibus recentibus,* and *historia nova,* will show very clearly the difference between these adjectives. Dumesnil rightly says:—" *Novum,* quod primum accidit; *recens,* quod nuper: ut lex *nova,* quæ primum perfertur; eadem *recens*

qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint, ac nunc

quæ non diu ante fuit lata." Hence we see why Cic. *pro Flacco* says, *Lex recens et nova.* In the passage of Tacitus *recens* refers to the precedent sentence, and is opposed to *antiqua: Eaque vera et antiqua nomina.* But Tac. adds here, *Et nuper additum.* Ernesti well remarks of *nuper*: "De satis longo tempore, uno alterove sæculo dici, hodie satis constat inter Latine doctos." Dr. Hill also says with philosophical precision:—"The interval in particular cases, to which *nuper* is applied, varies with the subject, and is more, or less so, according to circumstances: thus, though ages had passed from the discovery of those sciences forming philosophy, yet, as these are few, when compared with what had before elapsed, the discovery is said to have been but lately made: Cic. *de Div.* 39. *Neque ante philosophiam patefactam, quæ nuper inventa est, de N. D.* 50. *Ea, quæ nuper, id est, paucis ante sæculis, reperta sunt.*" Gesner had made the same remark before: "Cum de longiori tempore dicitur, intelligitur illud comparatione superiorum sæculorum breve esse." Dumesnil's account of *nuper* is unsatisfactory and imperfect. Dr. Hill adds "that *nuper* implies that the present time forms one of the points containing the interval between two events." "The following will explain the meaning of the terms *convenient speed* and *forthwith*, in Chancery. Application was made to the Chancellor on Friday to hear exceptions to the Master's Report with *convenient speed*, when his Lordship observed:—'*Convenient speed* means after all the other cases, which claim consideration, are disposed of. I have known an instance, where money was ordered to be paid into Court *forthwith*, and that meant in fact at the end of nineteen years.'" Nov. 30th. 1822.—Let us now apply these observations to this passage of Tacitus: *Germaniæ vocabulum recens et nuper additum, quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint, ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint.*" This is the right punctuation of the passage. Tac. says *nuper additum*, because, in a comparative sense, no great interval of time had elapsed, since the general appellation of *Germans* was assumed. Brotier seems to have been ignorant of this extended signification of *nuper*, as will appear by attending to his note on this passage:—"Primo fuere tantum nomina populorum; postea fuere et virtutis cognomina: sic dicti sunt Germani, i. e. viri bellicosi, ut mox explicabitur: ab illo cognomine terra ipsa appellata est *Germania:* quod Germaniæ vocabulum recens, et nuper additum: Germanorum autem nomen jam pridem auditum, ut constat e *Fastis Capitolinis* ap. Piranesi *Lapp. Capit.* p. 42." But Tacitus did not mean so much to assert, as Brotier supposes, that a considerable space

Tungri, tunc Germani[1] vocati sint. Ita nationis nomen,

of time elapsed between the first assumption of the name *German* by the invaders of the Transrhenane nations, and the general adoption of it as a collective appellation of the whole people, both the conquerors and the conquered, as to say that no considerable space of time had elapsed since the first introduction of the word *German* as the general designation of the Cisrhenane and the Transrhenane nations. This interpretation is supported by the context; for, after *nuper additum*, Tacitus immediately adds as an explanation: *Quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint, ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint etc.*

We have a remarkable instance of a similar circumstance having happened in the earlier history of Greece: Thuc. 1, 3. *Ἕλληνος δὲ καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Φθιωτίδι ἰσχυσάντων, καὶ ἐπαγομένων αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, καθ' ἑκάστους μὲν ἤδη τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μᾶλλον καλεῖσθαι Ἕλληνας· οὐ μέντοι πολλοῦ γε χρόνου ἠδύνατο καὶ ἅπασιν ἐκνικῆσαι.* Mr. Mitford, (*Hist. of Greece* 1, 227. Ed. 8vo.) having mentioned this circumstance, says:—"This name, in process of time, prevailed so as to become the distinguishing appellation of the Greeks in general; *through what means, we are not satisfactorily informed by Grecian writers*, but apparently nothing contributed so much, as the extensive reputation, and influence, which the Amphictyonic Council acquired." Hellen, it should be observed, succeeded to the dominions of Deucalion, which were on the Thessalian side of Mount Œta, and from the provinces in that neighbourhood Deputies had been used to assemble regularly at Thermopylæ. Now, though this opinion is very ingenious, yet, as Thucydides has expressly given to us a *satisfactory reason* for the general adoption of a title originally appropriated to the people of Phthiotis, I see no necessity for this gratuitous assumption of Mr. Mitford, especially as we are renouncing the testimony of so respectable a writer. These two cases correspond so accurately, that we need not to look for any more probable reason. The people, of whom Tacitus speaks, naturally adopted the title of *Germans*, which had been assumed by their conquerors to spread terrour, as it was well calculated to flatter their vanity; and the people, of whom Thucydides speaks, naturally adopted the appellation of *Hellenes*, as the proudest distinction in those times. Lipsius calls this passage of Tacitus the *crux* of commentators; but it is a *crux* only to those, who do not attend to the *context*, who do not know the meaning of the words *German*, *recens*, and *nuper*, who are ignorant of the difference between *gens* and *natio*, and who are unacquainted with the construction of the sentence.

[1] *Ac nunc Tungri, tunc Ger-*

non gentis,[1] evaluisse paullatim, ut omnes primùm[2] a vi-

mani vocati sint. "*Tunc—nunc,* vulgo *ac nunc—tunc.* Varietas lectionis multum negotii facessit; nam legere possumus *nunc—nunc, tunc—nunc, nunc—tunc.* Eligas quodcunque velis, alius sensus exorietur. Lectionem *tunc—nunc,* omisso *ac,* Longolius dedit in *Catal. Lectt. Gymn. Cur.* 1772." Kapp. 1. The reading adopted by Longolius materially affects the sense of the passage, and will require much historical research to defend it. If those, who first crossed the Rhine and expelled the Gauls, were at the time of invasion called *Tungri,* and in the time of Tac., *Germans,* then it is absurd for Tac. to add: *Ita nationis* [sc. Tungrorum,] *non gentis* [Germanorum,] *evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob metum, mox a se ipsis invento nomine Germani vocarentur.* 2. *Primum.* Were the Tungri prior to their invasion called *Tungri* or *Germani?* An answer to this question will settle the point about *nunc* and *tunc,* and the answer may be found in Cæsar *B. G.* 2, 4, 10. who states that those, who crossed the Rhine, were the Condrusi, the Eburones, the Cæresi, the Pæmani, who were all at the time of invasion called *Germani,* and, as he is quite silent about the name *Tungri,* we may fairly suppose that it was not known at the time, when Cæsar wrote. 3. "De Tungris et Eburonibus extat vetustus *Th. Huberti Leodii libellus,* Basil. 1541. Sedes eorum fuere in episcopatu Leodiensi, ubi adhuc *Tungarn* est. Junker. vero huc refert *Thuringiam.*" Longol. "Advatuca, quod in mediis fere finibus Eburonum castellum ponit Cæsar *B. G.* 6, 32, 3. est Ptolemæo caput Tungrorum, *Geogr.* 2, 9. p. 53." Bredow. 4. "Tungrorum olim magnum fuit nomen, extatque adhuc veteris gloriæ memoria in ea locorum amplitudine, quam dicimus, *L'ancien Diocese de Tongres.*" Brotier. It would have been well, if Brotier had defined what he meant by the word *olim*—did he mean to say that the Tungri existed as a nation so called, before they crossed the Rhine? This would be contrary to historical fact and to his own previous statement of that fact on the authority of Cæsar. Or did he mean that the Tungri so called, were a celebrated nation *formerly,* i. e. *after* they crossed the Rhine and comparatively with *modern* times? We may take for granted that this was his meaning from what he immediately subjoins. But he had previously said: —"Ab illo cognomine (Germanorum) terra ipsa appellata est Germania. Quod *Germaniæ* vocabulum recens et nuper additum. *Germanorum* autem nomen JAM PRIDEM auditum, ut constat e *Fastis Capitolinis* ap. Piranesi *Lapp. Capit.* p. 42." And therefore precision in respect to time was more particularly necessary in speaking of the antiquity of the Tungrian nation.

[1] *Ita nationis nomen, non gentis.* "Ita enim *gentem* ac *na-*

tionem inter se differre, ut *genus* et *formam*, e c. 38. (*Nunc de Suevis dicendum est, quorum non una, ut Cattorum Tencterorumve, gens; majorem enim Germaniæ partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quanquam in commune Suevi vocentur,*) intelligitur, quanquam interdum promiscue usurpari voces istas, docet c. 27. (*Nunc singularum gentium instituta ritusque, quatenus differant, quæ nationes e Germania in Gallias commigraverint, expediam,*) et *Agric.* 12. (*In pedite robur: quædam nationes et curru præliantur: honestior auriga, clientes propugnant: olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur: nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius, quam quod in commune non consulunt.*)" Emmerling. We read in ch. 34. *Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgibini et Chasuari cludunt, aliæque gentes haud perinde memoratæ. A fronte Frisii excipiunt. Majoribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum est ex modo virium. Utræque nationes usque ad Oceanum Rheno prætexuntur.* "Notandum *gentis* nomen latius, *nationis* angustius terminari, quod insolitum, cum *gens* sensu vulgari familiam notet; *natio*, populum." Brorson. "*Gens* latius est; *natio* specialius. Nec obstant objectiones Auctoris *der Geschichte der Menschheit in Wielandi Teutschen Mercur* vi. B. 3. St." Longol. ad Tac. *Germ.* 1. "Hic locus (*Germ.* 27.) esset præcipuus, quo auctor supra c. 1. allegatus Tacitum insimulat confudisse *gentem* et *nationem*, nec sibi constare, quod et 38, 1. 44, 3. factum esse arbitratur. Hæc vero duo postrema qui curatius inspexerit, intelliget, nec hic recessisse auctorem a lege, quam in hoc libello c. 2, 7. sibi fixerat, *gentis* speciem esse *nationem*. Nec inde vel latum, ut ajunt, unguem per huncce libellum discessit, quoties vocabulo *gentis* utebatur. Nec aliter in *Agric.* 12, 1, 2. ubi Buchner. consulendus. Sed et in præsenti salva res est. *Gens* est totum, eademque manet, si in partes non abit. Sic c. 38, 1. *Cattorum Tencterumque una gens:* Suevorum autem non *una* erat *gens*, quippe quod eorum singulæ civitates suum peculiare habebant, ut quælibet totum constitueret, Semnones, Langobardi cet. Consentit Wettermann." Longol. "Gens tanquam genus, singulas nationes tanquam natas s. filias complectitur. *Annal.* 11, 1. (*Quando genitus Viennæ, multisque et validis propinquitatibus subnixus, turbare gentiles nationes promtum haberet.*)" Bredow. "*Natio* et *gens* distinguuntur ap. Tacit., hæc latiori sensu, illa angustiori sumta, *Germ.* 2. 38.: sic distinguuntur interdum *natio* et *genus*. Cic. *pro Sexto* 32. *Qui cognomen sibi ex Æliorum imaginibus arripuit, quo magis nationis ejus esse quam generis videretur.*—Nimirum cognomine distinguuntur *nationes* sc. *familiæ unius generis* sc. *gentis*." Cic. has here used *nationes* for *familiæ*, and *genus* for *gens*. The difference between *familiæ* and *gens*, is thus well explained

by Dumesnil in his *Latin Synonyms*:—"*Gens* is the trunk, or body of a tree, which often branched into several families; *familia* is the branches of the tree, and included the father, mother, slaves, &c. *Familia* is very often said of all the slaves belonging to a common master, *Æsopus domino cum esset familia.* But authors sometimes confound *gens* and *familia:* thus Livy, speaking of the Fabii, says, *Omnes unius gentis*, and afterwards, *Ibant unius familiæ duces.*" Gesner observes, that Tacitus confounds *gens* and *natio* in *Agric.* 12. l. c. But he is mistaken. "*Gens* synonymous with *natio*, includes a whole race of men, as *Gens Trojana;* a particular people sprung from the race spoken of. The same people may be *natio* in one respect, and *gens* in another: the Saxons are *natio* with regard to the Germans in general; *gens* with regard to the several States of Saxony; or, in another way, with regard to the several races of a Saxon origin. The Germans themselves are *natio* with regard to the Europeans; and the latter are *gens* with regard to the people of Germany." Dumesnil. This distinction between *gens* and *natio* often occurs in Cic.: *de Off.* 1, 17. *Propior est (societas) ejusdem gentis, nationis, linguæ, qua maxime homines conjunguntur*. Justin, 1, 1. *Principio rerum, gentium nationumque imperium penes reges erat:* 8, 6. *Atque ita e multis gentibus nationibusque unum regnum populumque constituit.* *Gens* is sometimes, as Dr. Hill remarks in his *Latin Synonyms*, "made to denote the whole human race, and then stands opposed to higher and lower orders of beings. *Quin et gens hominum est huic belluæ adversa*, Plin. 8, 25.: *Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas*, Horat. *Carm.* 1, 3. *Evaluisse*, i. e. ita evaluisse ut "præ reliquis nominibus Germanorum eligeretur, Plin. *H. N.* 15, 29." Longol. "C. 28. (*Ut quæque gens evaluerat*,) *Hist.* 1, 80. ἐκνικᾷν, Thuc. 1, 3." Bredow. "Spalding. ad Quintil. 8, 6, 32. 9, 3, 13." Passow.

[3] *Ut omnes primum a victore*, i. e. Tungris. By *victor* Longol. erroneously understood *populus Romanus*, referring to ch. 33, 3.: *Maneat, quæso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium sui; quando, urgentibus imperii fatis, nihil jam præstare fortuna majus potest, quam hostium discordiam.* But it is ridiculous to suppose that Tac. could in a ch., which mentions so many different nations, intelligibly speak of the Roman people under the mere naked designation of *victor*, particularly as he is adverting to the success of the Germans over the Gauls. This opinion of Longol., as Passow informs us, has been refuted by A. Mœbius in *Athenæi, a Fr. Günthero et Guil. Wachsmutho editi, Fasc.* 1. p. 160. "Lego *a victore*, quod omnes libri exhibent, quicquid prolatum sit a Mannerto (*Geogr. Ant.* 3. p. 187.) et Adelungio (*Aelteste Gesch der Deutschen* p. 143.) bene jam re-

ctore ob metum,[1] mox a seipsis invento nomine *Germani* vocarentur."

futatum eum vidi nuper a C. F. Wilken (*Heidelb. Jahrb. d. Philol.* etc. 1 Hft.) ad tuendam lectionem *a victo*, quam vulgatæ substituerunt." Emmerling.

[1] *Ob metum.* "Primo nomen hoc fuit nationis victricis Cisrhenanæ, non vero totius gentis Transrhenanæ; sed paulatim evaluit, et Transrhenani omnes nomen, quod victor ob metum incutiendum repererat, ipsi usurpavere, reputantes idem nominis ob bellicæ gloriæ claritudinem sibi deberi." Brotier. "Ac *victor* intell. ii, qui primum Rhenum transgressi Gallos pepulerunt; *omnes*, qui deinde variis temporum intervallis secuti sunt. Hos primum populares fixas jam sedes in Gallia nacti nomine, quo ipsi terrorem incusserant, appellaverunt, ut et illis nomen ac gloriam apud Gallos conciliarent. Posterius insecutis nomen inventum placuit, eoque et ipsi tum usi sunt ad se invicem vocandos." Emmerling. "Totus locus cum Lipsio ita interpreteris: 'Pactum ut omnes, qui Rhenum accolerent, nomen ab ista victrice natione invenirent, ob metum recentem Gallorum, qui quoties de transgressu vel adventu Transrhenanæ nationis audirent, ajebant trepidi, *Adventare Germanos*, quod respondet τῷ Romanorum, *Hannibal ad portas.*'" Brorson. "Nomen Germanorum, quo Romani majores nostros nominavere, ab eadem origine ductum esse videtur, unde vox Gallica *guerre:* ita ut Galli pulsi victique illos Rhenum transgressos non nomine apud ipsos jam usitato, sed nomine invento, ob metum *viros belli* vocaverint. Quod nomen ceteris nationibus gentis Teutonicæ, boni ominis causa, placuit, ut se ipsos Germanos vocarent, qua ratione nationis (sc. nomen e sequenti) in nomen gentis evaluit." Bredow. "Ne literam quidem velim mutari; ita sana sunt omnia et digna Tacito. At neque, quid sit *nomen nationis evaluit, non gentis*, neque, quid sit *a victore appellari* cogitarunt, qui nuper locum corruperunt. Commode explicabis: Ita unius populi nomen, non autem gentis universæ nomen, paulatim hominum usu vim obtinuisse; ita ut Germaniæ incolæ primum secundum victores Tungros ab iis, qui sibi metuebant ab illis, mox a semetipsis invento nomine Germani appellarentur." G. L. Walch. *Emendd. Liv.* 79. "Græci ἀπὸ, ἐπὶ, ὑπό τινος, καλεῖν, ὀνομάζεσθαι, ὄνομα τίθεσθαι accuratius distinguunt. Quædam attulit Schæf. *Meletem. Cr.* 93. Lucian. *de Conscr. Hist.* 31. Νικαίαν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης χρὴ ὀνομάζεσθαι, Steph. *Thes.* 2, 1324." Passow. "*A se ipsis*, nempe a Germanis; ab his enim nomen inventum erat. Hinc non opus est emendatione *a re ipsa.*" Longol. The passage

3. "Fuisse apud eos et Herculem" memorant; primumque omnium virorum fortium, ituri in prœlia canunt. Sunt illis hæc quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem *Barditum*[1] vocant, accendunt animos, futuræque pugnæ

should be pointed thus, *Ut omnes*, (i. e. the whole Transrhenane nation,) *primum a victore ob metum, mox a seipsis, invento nomine Germani vocarentur*, because *invento* belongs to *a victore*, as well as to *a seipsis*. If the opinion of Walch, though approved by Passow, be correct, viz. that *a victore* depend on *vocarentur*, 'That all were called after the conqueror,' then the adjective *invento* is superfluous, and must be expelled as "a weed, that has no business there," unless it should be contended that *a seipsis* belong to *invento*, and in that case Tac. will be made to use the præposition *a*, (*a victore*,) in the sense of *after*, and in the sense of *by*, (*a seipsis*,) i. e. in two different senses with only three words intervening, (*ob metum mox*.) To obviate these difficulties without introducing any alteration, the sole remedy appears to be to adopt the punctuation, which I have recommended, and to translate the passage, as if the words had been written in this order, *Ut omnes vocarentur Germani nomine invento primum a victore ob metum, mox a seipsis*, 'That all were called by the name of Germans, a name, which was first invented by the conquerors (the Tungri) to spread terror, but which was afterwards adopted by themselves (as a flattering distinction.)'

[1] *Barditum.* "Fere simile institutum floruit apud antiquissimos Romanos, de quibus hæc narrat Cic. *Tusc.* 4, 2.: *Gravissimus auctor in Originibus dixit Cato, morem apud majores hunc epularum fuisse, ut deinceps, qui accubarent, canerent ad tibiam clarorum virorum laudes atque virtutes.* (Adde 1, 2. et Perizon. *Anim. Hist.* 6. p. 205.) Tale institutum floruit etiam apud Gallos veteres et Germanos, qui majorum fortium memoriam carminibus renovarunt. Hoc munere functos fuisse Bardos notum est, quos *fortia virorum illustrium facta heroicis composita versibus dulcibus lyræ modulis cantitasse* Ammian. Marc. 15, 17. scribit, et de quibus, licet alia adsint, (Athen. 6. p. 184. Diod. S. 5. p. 308. Ælian. *V. H.* 12, 23. Bochart. *Geogr. Sacr.* P. 2. L. 1. c. 42. *Monum. Paderborn.* p. 78. Jo. Chr. Wagenseil. *von der Meistersinger holdseeligen Kunst.* p. 496. qui liber affixus illi, *de Civitate Noribergensi*, Altorf. 1697.) Lucani tantum versus ascribam 1, 447. *Vos quoque, qui fortes animas belloque peremtas Laudibus in longum, vates, dimittitis ævum, Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi.* Tacitus etiam narrat Arminium illum Vari victorem *cani*

fortunam ipso cantu augurantur; terrent enim, trepidantve, prout sonuit, acies.[1] Nec tam voces illæ, quam virtutis concentus, videntur: affectatur præcipuè asperitas soni, et fractum murmur, objectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat. Ceterum et "Ulixem" quidam opinantur, "longo illo et fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum delatum, adisse Germaniæ terras, Asciburgiumque, quod, in ripâ Rheni situm, hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum, nominatumque . . .: aram quinetiam Ulixi consecratam, adjecto Laertæ patris nomine, eodem loco, olim repertam, monumentaque, et tumulos quosdam, Græcis literis inscriptos, in confinio Germaniæ Rhætiæque adhuc exstare:" quæ neque confirmare argumentis, neque refellere in animo est: ex ingenio suo quisque demat, vel addat fidem.

4. Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui "Germaniæ

adhuc apud barbaras gentes, (*Annal.* 2, extr., *Germ.* 2, 3.) quemadmodum Aventinus etiam dicit, (*Annal. Boior.* L. 2. p. 130.) *Complura apud nos extant de virtutibus Attilæ carmina, patrio sermone majorum scripta.* His addamus locum memorabilem Trithemii (*Compend. Annal.* L. 1. p. 11. Ed. Francof. 1601. adde Jornand. *de Reb. Getic.* 5.) *Mos hic erat majoribus nostris Francis atque Germanis, ut heroum dicta vel facta memoratu digna per sacerdotes templorum patriis commendarentur carminibus, in quibus discendis, memorandis, et decantandis juvenum excitarentur ingenia. Quæ consuetudo multis duravit annis, donec postremo defecit.* Talia carmina collegit Carolus M., ut Eginhart. (in Vita Caroli M. 29. p. 130.) memoriæ prodidit: *Item barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus et bella canebantur, scripsit,* (i. e. descripsit,) *memoriæque mandavit.* Ad quem locum lege quæ Bessel. et Goldast. notaverunt. Sed interciderunt ea, nec leve desiderium sui reliquerunt nobis, quibus sæpiuscule cum G. Hickesio *Grammat. Franco-Theotisc.*) dicendum et optandum est: *O utinam jam extaret Augusta Caroli M. bibliotheca, in qua delicias has suas reposuit Imperator! O quam lubens, quam jucundus ad extremos Caroli imperii fines proficiscerer ad legenda antiqua illa aut barbara carmina!"* Klotzii *de Carm. Bell. quorundam Populorum,* appended to Tyrtæi Carmina, p. 242. Ed. 1767. Further information on the *barritus* of the Germans may be found in Lipsius *de Militia Rom.* 4, 11. p. 204.

[1] *Prout sonuit, acies,* " sc. terrent trepidantve. Post *sonuit* distinxi cum Aldo, quam dis-

populos nullis aliis aliarum nationum connubiis infectos,[1] propriam, et sinceram, et tantum sui similem gentem exstitisse" arbitrantur. Unde habitus quoque corporum, quanquam in tanto hominum numero, idem: omnibus[2] truces et cœrulei oculi, rutilæ comæ, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida: laboris atque operum non eadem patientia: minimeque sitim æstumque tolerare,[3] frigora atque inediam cœlo solove[4] adsueverunt.

tinctionem minime infringunt, quæ possint videri alteram rationem firmare, *Hist.* 4, 18. *Ut virorum cantu, feminarum ululatu sonuit acies, nequaquam par a legionibus cohortibusque redditur clamor.*" Passow. The sense, as well as the arrangement of the sentence, evidently requires this punctuation; for, having said 'that the Germans augur the event of the impending battle by the sound itself,' he adds by way of explanation, 'for armies drawn up in array of battle inspire terror or feel alarm according to the nature of that sound.' *Prout sonuit acies* is a phrase, which *sounds harsh* without the presence of *cantu*, as in *Hist.* l. c.

[1] *Infectos.* "Verbis *inficere*, *vitiare*, *corrumpere*, *venenare*, et Gr. μιαίνειν, μολύνειν, φθείρειν, non adhæret notio rei in pejus mutatæ, sed mixtæ tantum et non jam sinceræ, *Germ.* 28. Il. Δ. 141. Porson. Eur. *Or.* 909. Schæf. ad Dionys. H. *de Comp. Verb.* 131. Interprr. Virg. *G.* 2, 466. et Persii 2, 64. Hinc Gallo-Græci Floro 2, 1. *adulterata gens* dicuntur." Passow. As to the phrase of Tac. *connubiis inficere*, see the note on ch. 46.

[2] *Idem: omnibus.* "Rhenanus primus distinxit post *omnibus*, tacite assentientibus, qui Tac. post eum ediderunt. Revocavi distinctionem, quam in Edit. ante Rhenanum, Nor. Put. Mon. Vienn. deprehendi, certiorem melioremque.

[3] *Æstumque tolerare*, sc. assueverunt.

[4] *Cœlo solove.* "Hic *cœlo* ad *frigora* referendum, *solo* ad *inediam*, qui sensus non nisi adhibita particula disjunctiva poterat effici. Sæpe vero tam leve vocum discrimen indicat, ut non multum recedat a vi copulæ, Gœrenz. ad Cic. *de Fin.* 5, 21. p. 605." Passow. I do not understand this learned Editor, when he says that the meaning of Tac. requires the presence of the disjunctive particle; for that meaning would be quite as apparent, if we read with Perizonius *cœloque*: 'They are the least able to endure thirst and heat, to cold and hunger they are habituated by the nature of the climate, (ch. 2. *asperam cœlo*, Seneca *de Prov.* 4. *Germanos triste cœlum premit*,) and of the soil,' (ch. 2. *tristem cultu aspectuque*, Seneca l. c. *Germanos maligne solum sterile sustentat.*) "*Frigora atque inediam*, h. l. χιασμὸς est: *inedia* refertur ad *sitim*; *frigora*

5. Terra, etsi aliquanto specie differt,[1] in universum tamen aut silvis horrida, aut paludibus fœda: humidior, qua Gallias; ventosior, qua Noricum ac Pannoniam aspi-

ad *æstum*. Paul. *Ep. ad Rom.* 15, 18-9. Suet. *Jul.* 35. et 27." Longol. But this is a palpable mistake. Incapability to endure continued exertion, as well as indolence, may be remarked in all barbarous nations. Justin 41, 11. says of the Parthians: *Nec pugnare diu possunt: ceterum intolerandi forent, si quantus his impetus est, vis tanta et perseverantia esset.* Tac. *Annal.* 2, 14. *Corpus ut visu torvum et ad brevem impetum validum, sic nulla vulnerum patientia.* Tac. *Germ.* 45. says of the Æstii, *Frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius, quam pro solita Germanorum inertia, laborant.*

[1] *Terra etsi aliquanto specie differt.* "Ne Ernestii illud ad Suet. *Cæs.* 86., '*Aliquanto* est longe et plurimum,' in errorem duceret, F. A. Wolf. (ad c. 10. p. 13.) monuit:—'*Aliquantum* per se incertæ potestatis est, sicut cognata vocabb. *aliquis, aliquandiu, aliquot*, v. c. cum dicitur, *Aliqua inest difficultas, aliquot anni* etc.: hi possunt esse 10, possunt etiam esse 40, 60.' Ita h. l. *aliquanto* nequaquam est non parum, multis partibus." Bredow. "*Aliquanto* sc. negotio, i. multum, Ern. (l. c.) Cave igitur, ut e Cod. Bamberg. legas *aliquando*, quod approbavere quidem Perizoniana adhuc anecdota, quasi non dicatur *aliquanto differt*, sed *aliquantum*." Longol. "*Aliquanto*, i. e. non parum, vide ad Suet. (l. c.) etsi debebat esse *aliquantum*." Ern. The observation of Ern. appears to me so well founded, that, to preserve to Tacitus propriety of language, we must read either *aliquando*, or *aliquantum*. For the Latins say *aliquantum procedo*, Cic. *de Fin.* 3, 14. *quantum, de Divin.* 2, 36. *paulum, Agrar.* 2, 31. *de Fin.* 3, 33. c. 10. (Plin. 11, 44.) *multum, de Orat.* 3, 195.; nor can I find a single instance of *aliquanto* so used for *aliquantum*. The rule of the Grammarians is this, that *aliquantum* is properly joined to adjectives in the positive degree or to a verb, whereas *aliquanto* is properly joined to adjectives in the comparative degree or to adverbs of time. The objection to the reading *aliquando* is 1. that it is always an adverb of time, 2. that in the present instance it would be strangely opposed to *in universum tamen*. "Ἶσον ἀπέχειν, Thuc. *Æqualiter abesse, Tantundem abesse.*" H. Steph. *Thes.* v. Ἀπέχω.

Specie differt, compare Pseudo-Cic. *de Invent.* 1, 40. c. 27. *Quare cum genere idem sit, fit aliud, quod parte quadam et specie, ut dicimus, differat.* Tac. *Dial. de Orat.* 25. *Nec refert quod inter se specie differant, cum genere consentiant.* "*Specie*, opponitur *in universum*, vel *generi*, Seneca *Epist.* 58. Plin. *Epist.* 10, 114." Longol. "Non voluit, puto, dialectice hic loqui Tac., sed diversitatem, quæ oculorum

cit; satis ferax,[1] frugiferarum arborum impatiens; pecorum[2] fecunda, sed plerumque improcera: ne armentis quidem suus honor,[3] aut gloria frontis: numero gaudent;

judicio pateat." Gesner. *Thes. L. L.*, and to this opinion I assent. Thus in *Agric.* 11. *Et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universum fama est transgressa.*

In universum, thus in *Agric.* 11. l. c.: *Germ.* 6. *In universum æstimanti, plus penes peditem roboris.* "Non patet, unde pendeat ille dativus *æstimanti.* Absolute igitur est positus more Græcorum loco particulæ cum suo verbo, Si in universum æstimare velis: plane ut Herod. 2, 29. Ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι, ἄναντές ἐστι χωρίον. Participii, in casu tertii absolute positi, exempla attulit Matth. *Gr. Gr.* 524." Emmerling.

[1] *Satis ferax.* "Cave *satis* habeas pro adv.: est casus sextus a *satum.* Intelligitur exinde, rem frumentariam in Germania valde tunc floruisse." Longol. "*Ferax oleo,* Virg. *G.* 2, 222. *bonis artibus,* Plin. Epist. 4, 15, 8." Passow.

[2] *Pecorum.* "Sensu strictiori pro 'ovibus;' nam sequitur *armenta. Pecus* melius derivatur a πέκος, 'pellis,' 'lana,' quam a *pasco.* Plin. *Epist.* 2, 17, 3. *Equorum boumque armenta.* Cum autem olim in Germania equitia rara, et equi ad usus bellicos necessarii essent, *armenta* sæpissime 'boves' significant. *Digest.* 7, 8, 12. L. 16, 89. Brisson. *de V. SS.*" Longol.

[3] *Suus honor,* "gravitas e pinguedine et nitore. *Gloria frontis,* cornua iis sunt, sed non talia, quæ frontem decorent." Bredow. "*Honor* est pulcritudo e pinguedine et nitore. *Gloriam frontis* poetice cornua vocavit." Ernest. But I doubt whether *honor* would have been so applied by Tac. and whether it is to be considered as conveying something distinct from *gloria frontis.* "Ne boves quidem cornibus, armentorum in genere decore, gaudent." Brorson. "Stat. *Silv.* 1, 2, 113. Sil. 4, 757. *frontis honores,* Virg. *G.* 2, 404. Horat. *Epod.* 11, 9. *silvarum honor,* Sil. 3, 487. *æstatis honores,* Flor. 4, 2, 60. *honor loricæ.* Plura Bentl. ad Horat. *Od.* 1, 17, 16." Longol. Plin. *Paneg.* 8. *Jam firmitas, jam proceritas corporis, jam* honor capitis, *et dignitas oris, nonne longe lateque principem ostentant?* "*Capitis honor* hic dicitur, ut Virg. *Æn.* 10, 133. *Dardanius caput ecce puer detectus honestum; G.* 2, 392. *Et quocunque deus circum caput egit honestum,* quem versum ad patrem familias pulcre transfert Colum. 3, 21, 4." Gesner. Dr. Aikin: "Even the beeve kind are destitute of their usual stateliness and dignity of head." But there can be little doubt that Tac. alludes to the *short* horns of the cattle. *Prov.* 16, 31. "The *hoary head* is *a crown of glory,* if it be found in the way of righteousness." 1 *Cor.* 11, 14. "Doth not even nature itself teach you, that, if a man have long hair, it is a

eæque solæ et gratissimæ opes sunt. Argentum et aurum propitii an irati dii[1] negaverint, dubito. Nec tamen af-

shame unto him? But, if a woman have *long hair*, it is a glory to her; for her hair is given her for a covering." This metaphorical use of the word *gloria* is not noticed by Gesner and Forcellinus. "De sensu h. l. jam Hartmann. (*Obss. in Tac. Germ.*, quarum *Particula* 1. in lucem prodiit Gubenæ 1802. altera ibid. 1803.) egit ita, ut non facile quicquam prætermiserit, quod explicatione indigeat. Nec tamen ab ipso, nec ab aliis, quantum memini, singularem verborum ordinem et delectum observatum vidi. Spirant enim ea non solum sublimius dicendi genus, quam quod comtam licet et elegantem, tamen tranquillam et placidam Historici orationem deceat, sed etiam aperte in hexametrum desinunt: *honor* (est) *aut gloria frontis*, [*frontis honores*, Stat. et Sil. ll. cc.] Cum præter ceteros Nostri libros in hoc de *Germ.* libello plures cum transpositi ac mutili, tum justi et integri versus legenti obveniant; en! integrum et omnibus numeris absolutum versum, c. 39. *Auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacrum*, et alium levi mutatione ad heroici carminis modos compositum, 37. *lata manent veteris vestigia famæ*," [cf. Virg. *Æn.* 4, 23. *agnosco veteris vestigia flammæ.* Tac. *Annal.* 1, 1. *Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere*:] "quæri potest, num alicunde et a quonam eos petierit Tac. Plerosque autem e poetarum lectione assidua, ut fit, in ejus orationem transiisse, hinc intelligitur, quod loci Auctoris extant, in quibus antiquorum poetarum imitatio in oculos statim incurrat; v. c. cap. 17. *tegumen spina consertum*, quo uti Virg. meminimus ad describendum Achæmenidis cultum et habitum, *Æn.* 3, 594.; quæ fortasse et in aliis ostendi posset, nisi bonum scriptorum antiquitatis numerum injuria temporis nobis abstulisset. Probabile tamen est, in aliis Auctoris fortuito nonnihil e poetarum sermone traxisse, cum brevitati et numeri lenociniis orationem suam commendare lectoribus vellet." Emmerling. Thus in this very ch. Tac. says, *Argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur*, (and he had previously said, *Nullam Germaniæ venam argentum aurumve gignere, Annal.* 11, 20. *Quærendis venis argenti.*) The phrase is borrowed from Lucr. 6, 808. *Denique ubi argenti venas aurique sequuntur.*

[1] *Propitii an irati dii negaverint.* "Mammon led them on, Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell From Heav'n, for ev'n in Heav'n his looks and thoughts Were always downward bent, admiring more The riches of Heav'n's pavement, trodden gold, Than ought divine or holy else enjoy'd In vision beatific: by him first Men also, and by his suggestion taught, Ransack'd the center, and with impious hands Rifled the bowels of their mother earth For treasures better hid: soon had his crew Open'd

firmaverim nullam Germaniæ venam[1] argentum aurumve gignere; quis enim scrutatus est? Possessione et usu haud perinde[2] adficiuntur. Est videre apud illos argentea

into the hill a spacious wound, And digg'd out ribs of gold—let none admire That riches grow in Hell: that soil may best Deserve the precious bane." Milton's *Paradise Lost* 1, 678.

[1] *Venam. Annal.* 11, 20. *quærendis venis argenti*, Lucr. 6, 808. *argenti venas aurique sequuntur.* Cic. *de N. D.* 2, 39. *Adde etiam reconditas auri argentique venas, infinitamque vim marmoris:* 60. *Nos e terræ cavernis ferrum elicimus, rem ad colendos agros necessarium; nos æris, argenti, auri venas, penitus abditas, invenimus, et ad usum aptas, et ad ornatum decoras.* Juvenal. 9, 31. *Accipimus tenue argentum, venæque secundæ.*

[2] *Haud perinde.* Dr. Aikin, "The possession of them is not coveted by these people, as it is by us," "puta ac nos Romani et omnes fere aliæ nationes." Bredow. "Quamvis aurum et argentum possideant, parvi tamen illud æstimant, nec avide concupiscunt; possessione et usu auri et argenti non perinde *ac nos* afficiuntur." Brorson. "Subaudienda particula, quasi esset, *Sed possessione haud perinde*, puta, ac nos Romani et omnes fere aliæ nationes." Gronov. "Quidam *proinde*, e compendio scripturæ: male. Sensus est, Germanos non tam cupidos esse acquirendi aut possidendi aurum argentumque, quam in rectos usus convertendi. Cf. de phrasi, *Annal.* 2, 14. (*Nec enim immensa barbarorum scuta, enormes hastas, inter truncos arborum, et enata humo virgulta, perinde haberi, quam pila, et gladios et hærentia corpori tegmina.*)" Longol. Tacitus says in *Hist.* 4, 62. *Quippe intra vallum, deformitas haud perinde notabilis: detexit ignominiam dies et campus: Annal.* 12, 40. *Hæc, quanquam a duobus Ostorio Didioque proprætoribus plures per annos gesta, conjunxi, ne divisa haud perinde ad memoriam sui valerent:* 2, 88. *Caniturque adhuc barbaras apud gentes; Græcorum annalibus ignotus, qui sua tantum mirantur: Romanis haud perinde celebris, dum vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi. Haud perinde* in the passage last cited is the same as *haud valde*, (and this is the sense of the passage under consideration.) The words will admit no other interpretation, because it would be absurd to say, as Tac. must be supposed to say, if *haud perinde* means 'not equally,' 'that Arminius was *unknown* to Grecian annals and in *as little* celebrity with the Romans.' "Videtur etiam poni pro 'multum,' 'admodum,' 'valde,' Suet. *Tib.* 52. *Itaque ne mortuo quidem perinde affectus est: Galba* 13. *Quare adventus ejus non perinde gratus fuit.*" Forcellin. This meaning is received by Gesner also, who, after having given the prior passage from Suet. adds, "Certe

vasa, legatis et principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate, quam quæ humo finguntur: quanquam proximi, ob usum commerciorum, aurum et argentum in pretio habent, formasque quasdam nostræ pecuniæ agnoscunt atque eligunt: interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. Pecuniam probant veterem, et diu notam, Serratos, Bigatosque. Argentum quoque magis, quam aurum sequuntur,[1] nulla affectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilior usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.

6. Ne ferrum[2] quidem superest,[3] sicut ex genere telorum colligitur. Rari gladiis aut majoribus lanceis utuntur: hastas, vel ipsorum vocabulo *frameas* gerunt, angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri, et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus vel eminus pugnent: et eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est; pedites et missilia spargunt, plura singuli, atque in

obscura ibi relatio est." "Valla 2. *Eleg.* 50. Lin. L. 2. p. 135. Eidem tamen L. 6. p. 431. videtur desiderari hic conjunctionem *quam* cum aliquo adjuncto. Potius subintelligam ego *ac alia* (*ac debebat, futurus videbatur,*) vel simile quid. Planc. 10. *Ep.* 24, 10. *Non perinde mihi turpe videtur.*" Tursellin. *de Partic. Lat. Orat.* p. 570.

[1] *Argentum magis quam aurum sequuntur.* Lucr. 6, 808. *Denique ubi argenti venas, aurique sequuntur, Terrai penitus scrutantes abdita ferro.* "*Sequuntur*, i. e. expetunt, Cæs. *B. C.* 1, 1, 3. (*Sin Cæsarem respiciant, atque ejus gratiam sequantur,*) Plin. *Epist.* 8, 18, 8." Longol. "*Sequi* signif. 'aliquid petere tanquam finem sibi propositum, tanquam feram, quam capere velis.' Horat. *A. P.* 240. *Ex noto fictum carmen sequar,* 'tanquam finem, quem efficere studeam.' Colum. 9, 4. *Compendia temporis sequi,* 'Studere brevi tempore efficere.'" Gesner.

[2] *Ne ferrum quidem.* "Duo instituta bellica apud Germanos accurate sunt dignoscenda, expeditiones ab universa natione ingenuisque omnibus susceptæ, et comitatus nobilium: de illis loquitur Tac. hinc usque ad c. 13.; de comitatu, c. 13. 14. Vide Mœser. *Hist. Osnabr.* 1. p. 63. Fr. Wilken. *Hist. Germ.* i. p. 47. Gebaver. *Vestig. Jur. Germ.* p. 93." Passow.

[3] *Superest,* "i. e. 'abunde suppetit,' *Hist.* 1, 51. 83. *Agric.* 45. Gellius 1, 22. Non optime de hac verbi potestate egit Ernest. ad Suet. *Tit.* 1. Eodem modo *superare* usurpatur pro 'abundare,' Cort. ad Sallust. *Jug.* 64, 1." Passow.

immensum vibrant:[1] nudi, aut sagulo leves. Nulla cul-

[1] *Atque in immensum vibrant.* "*Vibrare telum* est manu concutere. Scribe *librant*, dirigunt. *Hist.* 3, 27. *In Flavianos tela desuper librabantur*, *Ann.* 1, 64. *Locus uligine profunda, idem ad gradum instabilis——neque librare pila inter undam poterant:* apposite vim verbi expressit, ut et *Hist.* 2, 22. *Ingerunt desuper Othoniani pila librato magis et certo ictu.* Hinc *libratores*, *Ann.* 2, 20. *Funditores libratoresque excutere tela jubet:* 13, 39. *Libratoribus funditoribusque attributus locus, unde eminus glandes torquerent: Hist.* 3, 23. *Libramenta tormentorum.* Vide Veget. de libratoribus." Nic. Heins. whose Notes Oberlin has appended to his Edition. This Critic, whose correction I do not approve, has elsewhere noticed the distinction between *vibro* and *libro*, and as this distinction is too little observed by Commentators, I shall cite the passages:—"Stat. *Theb.* 2, 562. *quærens librare ruinam*, T. *vibrare.* Centies hæc verba confusa videbis, et sæpe in locis, a quibus utrumque non alienum est: videantur Pierius ad Virg. *Æn.* 11, 417. et VV. DD. ad Ovid. *Epist.* 3, 125.: Stat. *Theb.* 5, 560. *Librati saliunt portarum in claustra molares*, ubi Fr. Oudendorp. ad Lucan. 4, 4. *vibrati* præfert. Hic saltem *librare* prætulerim. Nam non magna vibratione et jaculatione opus: sufficiebat *avellere* et *devolvere.* Quamvis voci *librare* vis emittendi multis in locis inesse videatur; et mox hic *emissi turbine montis.*" *Misc. Obs. in Auctt. vett. et rec.* V. 1. T. 2. p. 220. "Seneca *Phæn.* 438. scr. *librata tela*, quod plus est, jamjam dextris excutienda; nam subsequitur *vibrat in fratrum manu:* sic tolletur ταυτολογία. Tale illud et infra v. 467. *clude vagina impium Ensem, et trementem jamque cupientem excuti Hastam solo defige.*" N. Heinsii *Advers.* 1, 5. "Sil. Ital. 3, 318. *cui tragula semper Fulmineam armabat celebratum missile dextram.* Cur vero *celebratum* præ aliis telis? Ne hoc frustra pergamus quærere, tutius est reponi *libratum missile*, quomodo Maroni, *Dextra mihi deus, et telum, quod missile libro.* Et, *Da nunc, Thybri pater, ferro, quod missile libro, Fortunam.*" N. Heinsii *Advers.* 365. "*Vibrant*," says Longol. on the passage of Tac. now under consideration, "i. manu agitant, Curt. 6, 5, 28. Lucan. 4, 40. ibique Oudend. In Mss. sæpe confunditur cum *librare.*" But this is not the meaning of Tacitus in this place. "*In immensum vibrant*, in spatium longissimum jaculantur." Brotson. "Which they hurl to an immense distance." Aikin. Gesner considers *libro* to be improperly applied to weapons, and therefore under the word in his *Thesaurus* he has not cited a single instance of such use; but under *Vibro* he says:—"A vi deductum signif. 'celeriter huc illuc movere et quasi vi agitare:' ad tela in primis adhibetur." He then annexes several examples of this

tus jactatio: scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distinguunt: paucis loricæ: vix uni alterive cassis, aut galea. Equi non formâ, non velocitate conspicui; sed nec variare gyros, in morem nostrum, docentur. In rectum, aut

usage. "*Libro* signif. etiam 'vibrare, jaculari, et quasi libra, i. e. directo jaciendo emittere:' vel quia quæ jaculari volumus, prius ad nos adducimus et retrahimus, et in æquilibrio quodammodo constituimus, ut emissa citius ferantur. Ovid. *Met.* 7, 787. *Ad jaculi vertebar opem, quod dextera librat Dum mea, dum digitos amentis indere tento, Lumina deflexi.* Virg. *Æn.* 9, 417. *hoc acrior idem Ecce aliud summa telum librabat ab aure, Dum trepidant; iit hasta Tago per tempus utrumque Stridens, trajectoque hæsit tepefacta cerebro*: 10, 479. *Hic Turnus ferro præfixum robur acuto In Pallanta diu librans jacit, atque ita fatur: Aspice, num mage sit nostrum penetrabile telum. Dixerat; at clypeum, tot ferri terga, tot æris, Cum pellis toties obeat circumdata tauri. Vibranti cuspis medium transverberat ictu, Loricæque moras, et pectus perforat ingens.* 5, 478. *durosque reducta Libravit dextra media inter cornua cæstus Arduus, effractoque illisit in ossa cerebro.*" [11, 605. *hastasque reductis Protendunt longe dextris, et spicula vibrant.*] "Lucan. 3, 433. *raptam librare bipennem Ausus, et aeriam ferro proscindere quercum.* Stat. *Achill.* 2, 419. *librare vulnera.* Senec. *Agam.* 900. *Armat bipenni Tyndaris dextram furens, Qualisque ad aras colla taurorum pius Designat oculis, antequam ferro petat: Sic huc et illuc impiam librat manum.* Quintil. *Decl.* 1, 10. *Sic ergo libravit manum cæcus, ut ipsam protinus feriret animam.*" Forcellin. From these and other passages, which might be adduced, it is evident that *libro* and *vibro*, strictly speaking, are different, the first denoting "to poise a javelin," i. e. "to hold it steadily directed to the target," "to aim it at a particular object," and the latter meaning "to hurl it, when it is thus poised, aimed, directed, to the required distance." Hence we see that the phrase of Tac. in this place is perfectly correct, *in immensum vibrant*. It is further evident from the passages above cited that Latin Authors sometimes accurately distinguish between these two words, that sometimes they confound them, and that sometimes it is not easy to determine which would be the more proper word. The word "*to level*" in the English language is defined by our great Lexicographer on the authority of Dryden, Swift, Hudibras, and Hooker, to mean as a verb active "to direct to any end, to aim, to point in taking aim," and as a verb neuter "to aim at, to bring the gun or arrow to the same line with the mark, to be in the same direction with a mark;" and thus it corresponds to the Latin verb *librare*. But occasionally and vulgarly it is

uno flexu dextros agunt,[1] ita conjuncto orbe, ut nemo posterior sit. In universum æstimanti, plus penes peditem roboris eoque mixti prœliantur, apta et congruente ad equestrem pugnam velocitate peditum, quos ex omni juventute delectos ante aciem locant. Definitur et numerus: centeni ex singulis pagis sunt; idque ipsum inter suos vocantur: et quod primò numerus fuit, jam nomen et honor est. Acies per cuneos componitur. Cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes, consilii quàm formidinis arbitrantur. Corpora suorum etiam in dubiis prœliis[2] referunt. Scutum reliquisse præcipuum flagitium; nec aut sacris adesse, aut concilium inire ignominioso fas, multique superstites bellorum, infamiam laqueo finierunt.

7. Reges ex nobilitate; duces ex virtute sumunt. Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas; et duces exemplo po-

used as synonymous with the verb "*to strike*," *vibrare*: "he levelled a blow at me," "he struck me a blow."

[1] *Dextros agunt*, "in dextram vertunt," Brorson. "'*Or wheel once to the right.*' Here is a difficulty, which the Commentators pass over without notice. That the cavalry should always wheel to the *right* is inconceivable, since in some positions this would make them present their rear, instead of their front, to the enemy. Possibly the phrase *dextros agunt* might be intended to signify the *dexterity*, with which they performed this single evolution, since the compactness, which they preserved in doing it, is immediately remarked." Dr. Aikin. "*Dexter homo* dicitur, qui novit in tempore rem agere, Liv. 8, 36. *Rem per se popularem ita dexter egit, ut medendis corporibus animi imperatori reconciliarentur.*" Forcellin.

[2] *Dubiis prœliis.* "Dubious fights," Aikin. "Cruentis et adhuc incerta victoria," Brorson. "I. quorum eventus adhuc incertus est, Plin. *Epist.* 6, 20, 6. *dubius dies*, i. diluculum, [*dubia lux*, Seneca, *Hippol.* 1.] Suet. *Jul.* 4. *dubiæ civitates*, i. quibus fidendum non est, ['h. e. ad defectionem propensæ,' Forcellin.] *Octav.* 17. *dubia societas*, i. quæ facile fœdus rumpit, Tac. *Ann.* 3, 44. *dubiæ Hispaniæ*, i. de qua adhuc incertum est, a cujus partibus stabit." Longol. "A dubious fight" is when it may be doubted which side has obtained the victory. Virg. *G.* 2, 279. *Ut sæpe ingenti bello cum longa cohortes Explicuit legio, et campo stetit agmen aperto, Directæque acies, ac late fluctuat omnis Ære renidenti tellus, nec dum horrida miscent Prælia, sed dubius mediis Mars errat in armis*, "incertus prœliorum eventus," Gesner.: Liv. 35. *Aliquamdiu dubium prœlium fuit.* Cæs. *B. G.* 7, 80. *Dubia victoria pugnare*, Vell. 2, 55. *Dubio*

tiùs quàm imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agant, admiratione præsunt. Ceterùm, neque animadvertere,[1] neque vincire, nec verberare quidem, nisi sacerdoti-

marte pugnare, 71. *Dubiam spem armorum tentare.*

[1] *Animadvertere.* "Vox consulum ad lictorem erat, *Animadverte*, ut debitus honos iis redderetur, Liv. 24, 44. [Suet. *Cæs.* 80.] Brisson. *de Form.* Deinde signif. *punire*, Idem de *VV. SS.* Hoc vero loco subintelligi debet *gladio* et de *pœnis capitalibus* explicari; Tac. enim a pœnis gravioribus ad leviores transit." Longol. Dr. Aikin both inaccurately and tamely translates the words: — "None, however, but the priests are permitted to judge offenders, to inflict bonds or stripes." Suet. *Aug.* 24. *Animadversione capitali punire aliquem*, Sallust. *Cat.* 52. *verberibus in cives.* "Speciatim ad pœnas transfertur. Namque *animadverto in te*, (κολάζω,) est *punio te;* sed cum hac differentia, quod *punire* est quorumcunque, sive jure sive injuria malum pro malo reddentium: *animadvertere* ejus, qui in alterum habet potestatem, ordine ac rite, i. cum animadversione puniendi." Gesner. "*Animadvertere*, i. e. punire, l. 11. l. 13. D. *de Offic. Præs. Animadvertere facinorosos homines*, l. 3. D. *de Jurisd. in libertinum*, l. 7. §. 1. D. *de Bon. Damn. Animadversorum corpora*, l. 1. D. *de Cadav. Punit. Animadverti* autem dicitur de omnibus suppliciis et pœnis, si pœnæ genus adjicitur, l. 11. §. ult. l. 12. D. *de Pœn.* At si simpliciter ponitur h. v., tunc signif. potissimum capite plecti, et quidem gladio, non securi, telo, fuste, laqueo, l. 8. §. 1. D. *de Pœn.*" B. Ph. Vicati *Vocab. Jur. utriusque.* "*Animadvertere*, i. e. interficere, Tac. *Hist.* 1, 46. (*Laco præfectus, tanquam in insulam seponeretur, ab evocato, quem ad cædem ejus Otho præmiserat, confossus: in Marcianum Icelum, ut in libertum, palam animadversum:*) 4, 49. (*Centurionemque percunctatus, postquam quæsitum sibi crimen cædemque comperit, animadverti in eum jussit, haud perinde spe vitæ, quam ira in percussorem.*" Bredow. Oberlin, however, with Gebaver, was unacquainted with this extended signification of the word; for the former says:— "Editi omnes *neque verberare quidem.* Id Gebaver. p. 608. putabat restituendum, quia a leviori ad gravius ascendat oratio. Mihi secus videtur. Gravius erat vinciri, levius verbera pati." That Tac. descends from heavier to lighter punishments, as Longol. supposes, is proved not only by the use of *animadvertere*, which, when it is thus put without an adjunct, means in Tac. "to inflict capital punishment," but by the words *ne—quidem;* for, if none but the priests were allowed *animadvertere*, i. e. in the sense of a slight punishment, of course none but the priests were permitted *vincire, verberare*, i. e. in the sense of heavy

bus permissum; non quasi in pœnam, nec ducis jussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt: effigiesque, et signa[1] quædam, detracta lucis, in prœlium

punishments. Taking *verberare* to be a punishment inferior to what is implied by *animadvertere*, the words *ne—quidem* are intelligible, and add great force to the passage. And to preserve the gradation of Tac., we must consider with Oberlin, that *vincire* implies more than *verberare*. This *republican* Historian very naturally regarded *bonds* as something yet more offensive to *freemen* than *stripes*. The one is in possession of his personal liberty, and can therefore defend himself against unauthorised attacks; but the other, fettered like a slave, is incapable of making any resistance, and must therefore submit to any fate, which his oppressors may reserve for him. That this is the right interpretation of the passage will be still more evident, when it is recollected that Tac. in ch. 25. has employed similar words, though the language there rises from *stripes* to *bonds*, from *bonds* to *labour*, from *labour* to *death*:—"*Verberare servum, ac vinculis et opere coercere, rarum: occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira.*" The ideas of the Romans on such subjects had, it seems, perhaps from the frequency of the punishment by *stripes*, during the Imperial Government, undergone some change; for in the days of Consular Power *stripes* were regarded as more offensive to freemen than *bonds*: Cic. Verr. 5, 170. *Facinus est, vinciri civem Romanum; scelus, verberari; prope parricidium, necari; quid dicam in crucem tolli? Verbo satis digno tam nefaria res appellari nullo modo potest.* Cicero had in 5, 162. said: *Cædebatur virgis in medio foro Messanæ civis Romanus, judices; cum interea nullus gemitus, nulla vox alia istius miseri, inter dolorem crepitumque plagarum audiebatur, nisi hæc,* Civis Romanus sum: *hac se commemoratione civitatis omnia verbera depulsurum, cruciatumque a corpore dejecturum arbitrabatur.* In the Speech, which Sallust *Cat.* 51. puts into the mouth of Cæsar, we read:—*Sed per deos immortalis, quamobrem in sententiam non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadverteretur? an quia lex Porcia vetat? ut aliæ leges item condemnatis civibus animam non eripi, sed in exsilium permitti jubent. An quia gravius est verberari, quam necari?——Sed eodem illo tempore, Græciæ morem imitati, verberibus animadvertebant in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Postquam resp. adolevit et multitudine civium factiones valuere, circumvenire innocentes, alia hujuscemodi fieri cæpere. Tum lex Porcia aliæque paratæ, quibus legibus exsilium damnatis permissum.*

[1] *Effigiesque et signa.* "Diversas VV. DD. interprr. vide ap. Gebaver. Constat vero, Germanos nullas habuisse figuras deorum, c. 9, 4. Lucan. 3, 415. Igitur h. l. est figura ἓν διὰ δυοῖν,

ferunt. Quodque præcipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus, nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiæ et propinquitates,[1] et in proximo

et signif. *Signa effigiata*, sive animalium, s. cujusdam herois, s. Irmensulæ, ad excitandam militum virtutem. Tac. *Hist.* 4, 22. Sic infra 17, 4. *maculas pellesque*, i. maculatas pelles, *Agric.* 25, 4. *manus et arma*, i. manus armatæ, Liv. 38, 7, 2. *stuppam picemque*, i. stuppam piceatam, Cic. *ad Att.* 4, 2. *Dolor et magnitudo*, i. dolor magnus, Paul. *ad Eph.* 6, 18. *ad Phil.* 4, 6. προσευχὴ καὶ δέησις, *Preces ardentes*, 15. δόσεως καὶ λήψεως, *Acceptæ donationis*, *Jo.* 1, 14. χάρις καὶ ἀλήθεια, *Verissima gratia*, 4, 48. σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, *Prodigiosa signa*, *Act.* 6, 8. πίστις καὶ δύναμις, *Fides fortissima*. Plura dedere Serv. ad Virg. *Æn.* 1, 61. Cort. ad Sallust. *Cat.* 2, 2. Excurs. ad 7, 4. Westerhof. ad Ter. Andr. *Prol.* 12." Longol.

[1] *Sed familiæ et propinquitates.* "I. e. famuli, (Fest. Brisson.) propinqui." Longol. See the note on ch. 2.

Numerare aut exigere. "Aurelius Victor Schotti in *Nerone: Quippe noxiorum vinctis modo, pelle tectus feræ, utrique sexui, genitalia vultu contrectabat, exactor parium majore flagitio. Exactor parium* est, qui comparat æquos et dignos componi. Ut *exigere* Suet. *Jul.* 47. *Spe margaritarum, quarum amplitudinem conferentem interdum sua manu exegisse pondus.* Tac. *Germ.* 7. *Ad matres, ad conjuges vulnera ferunt: nec illæ numerare aut exigere plagas pavent.* Ita optime Farnes. Cod. Perperam Edd. *exsugere.* Numerare illas dicit, et expendere atque comparare inter se vulnera, cum laude ejus, qui majora et honestiora tulerit: vulnerum velut exactrices esse: ut *exactores* operis, qui attendunt, ut recte fiat. Ovid. *Ipsa, quod hæ faciunt, opus exigit*, i. e. probat, animadvertit, num recte fiat, vel factum sit." Gronov. *Obss.* 1, 8. p. 60. "Perperam *exsugere* reposuerunt. *Exigere*, explorare, perpendere, examinare, *exigere pensa* sic dicitur. Suet. *Jul.* 47. (l. c.;) *Aug.* 45. *Gladiatorum pugnas severissime semper exegit; Tib.* 19. *Disciplinam severissime exegit*, quomodo et *Aug.* 24. in Mss. Fulvii Ursini, et denuo c. 31. *Ut illorum ad exemplar et ipse, dum viveret, et alii principes exigerentur:* male sollicitavit Casaub., v. Græv. *Exigere supplicia coram*, Idem *Claud.* 34. *Tormenta quæstionum pœnasque parricidarum repræsentabat exigebatque coram.* Vide hic Gronov., qui tamen minus recte visus est interpretari: ['Placet *exigere*, sed ut *sarta texta exigere, ad summam veritatem jus exigere.* Quasi taxare ac plus aut minus in illis virtutis agnoscere. Vide *Obss.* 1, 8.'] Canace apud Ovid. *Epist.* 11, 8. *Ipse necis cuperem nostræ spectator adesset; Auctorisque oculis exigeretur opus.* Hinc *exactores supplicii*, Lips. ad *Ann.* 3, 14.: *Auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur*, infra c. 10. 20. etc." N. Heins. ap. Oberlin. "Seneca *Agam.* 934. *Poscunt fidem secunda, at*

pignora; unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium: hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores. Ad matres, ad conjuges vulnera ferunt; nec illæ

adversa exigunt, h. e. probant, explorant, ut Tacito *exigere vulnera*." N. Heins. *Advers*. 1, 11. p. 119. "*Exigo*, examino, æstimo, sive id pondere, vel regula fiat, s. solo mentis judicio." Gesner. Cic. *Verr*. 3, 5. *Nisi forte vis ad perpendiculum columnas exigere*, Plin. *H. N.* 36, 25. *Materia crassitudine bipedali ad regulam et libellam exigitur:* 7, 21. *Exigere aliquid mensura.* Seneca *QQ. N.* 4, 5. *Si omnia argumenta ad obrussam cœperimus exigere, silentium indicetur: Epist*. 11. *Opus est aliquo, ad quem mores nostri se ipsi exigant*, "h. e. se conforment, dirigant." Forcellin. The word *numerare*, which is coupled with *exigere* by the particle *aut*, may help to determine the meaning of it: 'These German women did not hesitate to *count* the wounds, or rather to examine them carefully, that they might see whether the men had a *sufficient number of honourable wounds* to intitle them to the reputation of valour, and to rescue them from the imputation of cowardice.' The context, (which always forms the best commentary upon a writer,) proves that this is the meaning of the passage:—*In proximo* (sc. *loco*) *pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium: hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores: ad matres, ad conjuges vulnera ferunt; nec illæ numerare, aut exigere pavent.* The custom of repairing to their women, after an engagement, to expose their wounds to inspection, proceeded not so much from a wish to have their wounds dressed, (which was, indeed, a necessary, but only a secondary, consideration,) as from a tender concern for their reputation. They were naturally anxious to obliterate the slightest suspicion of cowardice before their women, who formed, as it were, *the military court of the nation:* ch. 8. (*Feminis*) *inesse quinetiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant; nec aut consilia earum aspernantur, aut responsa negligunt.* [The Trojans, in the heroic ages, seem to have equally dreaded the reproaches of women. Homer (Il. Z. 441.) puts these words into the mouth of Hector, whose wife Andromache had advised him to confine his efforts within the walls of Troy: Ἦ καὶ ἐμοὶ τάδε πάντα μέλει, γύναι· ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰνῶς Αἰδέομαι Τρῶας, καὶ Τρωάδας ἑλκεσιπέπλους, Αἴ κε, κακὸς ὥς, νόσφιν ἀλυσκάζω πολέμοιο.] We are, indeed, told by Mallet (*North. Antiq.* 1, 269.) that 'the study of simples, and the art of healing wounds, an art as mysterious in those times, as the occasions of it were frequent, belonged to the women; and that matrons, and young women, in the ancient Chronicles of the North, are always employed in dressing the wounds of their husbands, or lovers.' But the context, as I have observed, establishes the truth of the other opinion. A similar custom prevail-

numerare, aut exigere plagas[1] pavent, [2]cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant.

ed among the Spartan women. Ælian. V. H. 12, 21. Αἱ Λακεδαιμονίων μητέρες, ὅσαι ἐπυνθάνοντο τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐταί γε ἀφικόμεναι τὰ τραύματα αὐτῶν ἐπεσκόπουν, τά τε ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ τὰ ὄπισθεν· καὶ, εἰ ἦν πλείω τὰ ἐναντία, αἵδε γαυρούμεναι, καὶ σεμνὸν ἄρα καὶ βλοσυρὸν ὁρῶσαι, τοὺς παῖδας εἰς τὰς πατρῴας ἔφερον ταφάς· εἰ δὲ ἑτέρως εἶχον τῶν τραυμάτων, ἐνταῦθα αἰδούμεναι, καὶ θρηνοῦσαι, καὶ, ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα, λαθεῖν σπεύδουσαι, ἀπηλλάττοντο, καταλιποῦσαι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν τῷ πολυανδρίῳ θάψαι, ἢ λάθρα εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἠρία ἐκόμιζον αὐτούς. The word ἐπεσκόπουν accurately corresponds to *exigere*. "Similia de Lacænis matribus multa refert Plut. *Apophth. Lac.*, quem vide. Sed et de diverso sepulturæ honore, prout cæsi in prœlio vel honesta acceperant vulnera, apud Cretenses, unde sua habuerunt instituta Lacones, v. Ælian. *H. A.* 4, 1." Perizon. "Recte, opinor, *exigere* a Rhenani et Lipsii licentia, *exsugere* nobis obtrudentium, tuitus est recentissimus Tac. Editor, Oberlinus. Apprime enim convenit illa vox adjecto *numerare*, si modo ita accipias, ut Augustus ap. Suet. 45. *margaritarum pondus manu exegisse* dicitur, pro *explorare*, *examinare*, ut sensus sit, Et quot et qualia ac quanta vulnera sui reportarint, examinant. Nequeo tamen facere cum viro doctissimo in eo, quod hoc plagarum examen pro animi fortis signo haberi velit. Quænam enim cogitari potest matrum potissimum atque uxorum fortitudo de vulnerum numero ac gravitate cum suis quamvis severe agentium? Neque autor ipse de forti sexus muliebris apud Germanos priscos animo cogitavit, cogitasse ad summum videri potest, propter additum *pavent*. Sed h. v., ut plura hujus generis, tum fere adhibetur, cum certis quibusdam, vel levissimis impedimentis, undecunque oblatis, a re aliqua abstrahimur ac detinemur, quo minus faciamus, quod in animo erat. (Sic *deterreri*, de ingeniis dictum, nihil aliud esse, quam consilium scribendi dimittere, historiæ condendæ studium abjicere atque deponere, Gronov. bene monuit ad *Ann.* 1, 1. Similiter *aspernari* simpliciter est nolle, 1, 40. Conferri potest Ernestii et *Nota* ad h. l. et *Clavis* s. h. v.) Hinc et in nostro loco *non pavent* haud facile quicquam significavit præter hoc, Non recusant, dubitant, aut cunctantur." Emmerling.

[1] *Vulnera—plagas.* "Suet. *Vitellio* 10. *Verbera et plagas, sæpe vulnera, nonnunquam necem. Plagæ* sunt tumores e percussione; *vulnus* vero est apertum, hians, et patens, Non. Marc. 5, 49." Longol. Cornelius Nepos 18, 4, 2. *Vulnerari aliquot plagis*, Lucr. 4, 1064. *Conturbare prima vulnera novis plagis.* Cic. *Verr.* 7, 51. *Dico, in illo supplicio mercedem lacrimarum, mercedem vulneris atque plagæ, mercedem funeris ac sepulturæ constitui, nefas fuisse.* "*Plaga*, πληγή, ictus, percussio, a v. Gr. allata, quæ a πλήττω, *percutio.* Metonym., ipsa ruptio et fissio membri,

8. Memoriæ proditur, quasdam acies, inclinatas jam et

quæ inflicta plaga fit. Distinguit Plin. inter *plagam* et *vulnus*, ut illa sit, qua perforatur et finditur corpus, ἐντομὴ, hoc, quo pars ejus laceratur et avellitur, ἕλκος: 16, 12. *Aperitur picea a parte solari, non plaga, sed vulnere ablati corporis.* Alio modo Celsus 8, 4.: *Plagam, si e vulnere est, talem necesse est habeamus, qualem acceperimus; si manu facienda est, ea fere commodissima, quæ litera X figuram accipit.* Alibi, v. gr. 5, 26. sæpe *plagam* et *vulnus* promiscue accipit. Suet. *Vitellio* 10. *Verbera, et plagas, sæpe vulnera, nonnunquam necem repræsentantes adversantibus: verbera,* quæ virgis, fuste, loro infliguntur; *plagæ,* quæ pugnis, calcibus, saxis, aliove duro instrumento; *vulnera,* quæ gladio, hasta, aut hujusmodi, unde membrum rumpitur. Valla *Elegant.* 6, 47. In illo Caton. ap. Gell. 10, 3. *Insignitas injurias, plagas, verbera, vibices, eos dolores atque carnificinas, per dedecus atque maximam contumeliam, inspectantibus popularibus suis atque multis mortalibus, te facere ausum esse: plagas* puto esse flagrorum ictus, *verbera* addi amplificandi gratia, quia loquitur de liberis hominibus flagro cæsis. Vide integrum locum." Forcellin. It is to be observed that a female heart was, in the opinion of Tac., more likely to fail in contemplating *plagæ* than *vulnera: Ad matres, ad conjuges vulnera ferunt; nec illæ numerare aut exigere plagas pavent,* i. e. *etiam plagas.* Dr. Aikin in his Version has not preserved the distinction between *vulnera* and *plagas*, but translates both by the word "wounds."

[2] *Cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant.* "*Gestant,* sic Sallust. *Cat.* 6, 5. *auxilia portabant, Jug.* 46, 8." Longol. "Non bene convenire videtur τὸ *hortamina* cum τῷ *cibos,* frustra id licet contra Colerum defendente Gronovio. Nescio enim an bene Latine possit dici *hortamina gestare:* certe nullum me memini exemplum legere in aliquo probato Auctore, nec ipse summus Gron. habuit, quod ad probandam suam sententiam afferret; Plauti enim atque Martialis joci, ad quos hic provocat vir acutissimus, parum omnino huc facere videntur ad Tac. gravitatem et severam dictionem. Quamvis aliquem ipsi colorem inducere potuisset e Liv. 7, 11. ubi *hortamenta* simili fere sensu legitur. Nec sane strenue nugatus est Coler., ut satis inclementer hic pronuntiat idem Gron., quando *hortamina* hic de *vino,* aut alio potu vini loco adhibito, per notissimam figuram rhetoricam, ingeniose accepit, sicuti nempe eodem fere tropo, *vinum εὐφροσύνην, lætitiam,* scite vocatum fuisse *Act. Apost.* 14, 17. probavimus ibi in *Curis Philol. Wolf.* 1211. Imo ipse noster Tac. eadem elegantia vinum *lætitiam* vocavit, *Hist.* 3, 14. *Civilis primores gentis ubi nocte ac lætitia incaluisse videt:* nempe effectu pro causa posito. Sed hæc obiter. Quare leg. potius hic arbitror ego, *Cibosque et hordei vina, vel hordeacea vina pugnantibus*

labantes, a feminis restitutas constantia precum, et objectu *gestant.* Hunc enim potum Germanis familiarissimum fuisse, c. 23. clare docetur, *Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus:* unde forsan hæc nostra conjectura aliquam probabilitatis speciem induere videbitur." Triller. This note deserves some remarks. 1. The words of Gronovius are these:—" Nugatur strenue Coler., (qui de potu vini loco accipit *hortamina,*) non videns Tac. ludere in v. *gestare,* quod aliter accipitur, cum refertur ad *cibos,* aliter cum ad *hortamina.* Hæc enim sic *gestantur,* ut *fertur salus,* ut *portatur ave.* Plaut. *Pœn.* 3, 3, 7. *Salutamus te, Lyce, quanquam hanc salutem ferimus inviti tibi.* Martial. 1, 56. *Et matutinum portat ineptus ave.* Et cibos eis ministrant, inquit, et verbis stimulos ad virtutem addunt." But I agree with Triller in abandoning the line of defence thus pursued by Gron., because *hortamen gestare* is not a Latin phrase, and because the jokes of Plautus and Martial are not suited to the grave character and the yet graver language of Tac. 2. The passage of Livy is this:—*Pugnatum haud procul porta Collina est totius viribus urbis, in conspectu parentum conjugumque ac liberorum, quæ magna, etiam absentibus, hortamenta animi, tum subjecta oculis, simul verecundia misericordiaque militem accendebant.* But this passage is irrelevant to the purpose of illustrating the words of Tac., which we are considering; for the question, as it is stated by Triller himself, is not about the meaning, but about the words of Tac., not about the use of the words *hortamenta animi,* or of similar phrases, but about the expression *hortamina gestare,* and Livy undoubtedly supplies us with no aid to defend or to impugn that expression. 3. *Cibos gestare* would be an unexceptionable phrase, Tac. *Hist.* 2, 62. *Ex urbe atque Italia irritamenta gulæ gestabantur, strepentibus ab utroque mari itineribus;* and Tac. has applied one verb to the two nouns, *cibos* and *hortamina,* by a method of speech, common alike to the Gr. and to the Latin languages, and perhaps to every language, and used by almost every Gr. and Lat. Writer. Dr. Butler in his Notes on the Prometheus of Æschylus v. 21. cites from *Germ.* ch. 2. *Terra olim nec classibus advehebantur, qui mutare sedes quærebant:* Giacomellius in his Notes on the same passage furnishes other examples, and more have been adduced by me in "*the Critical and Explanatory Notes on Demosthenes,*" which may be read in the third No. of "*the Classical Journal.*" "*Cibosque et hortamina,* 'Food and encouragement,' one of the *points* frequently to be met with in Tac., like 'the mountains and mutual dread' in the first sentence of this Treatise. Some annotators, not entering into this mark of character in the Historian's style, have interpreted *hortamina* 'refreshments,' and

pectorum, et monstrata cominus captivitate, quam longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent: adeo, ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum, quibus inter obsides puellæ quoque nobiles imperantur. Inesse quinetiam sanctum aliquid, et providum[1] putant; nec aut consilia

as food was before related, have supposed it to mean ‘wine or ale.’” Dr. Aikin. “Lege *ut hortamina*, sic c. 27. *Monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem, ut gravem defunctis, aspernantur*. Vide illic Rhen.” N. Heins. “*Hist*. 4, 18. *Civilis, captarum cohortium signis circumdatus, ut suo militi recens gloria ante oculos et hostes memoria cladis terrerentur, matrem suam sororesque, simul omnium conjuges parvosque liberos, consistere a tergo jubet: hortamenta victoriæ, vel pulsis pudorem*. Concidunt igitur hariolationes putidissimæ Coleri, Trilleri, aliorum, per se sat ridiculæ. De virtute mulierum Germanicarum per bella et prœlia multa congessit Gebaver. *Præf. ad Lahenstenii Armin*. p. 37. Plane eadem de Britannis narrat Tac. *Ann*. 14, 34. *Agric*. 32. de Thracibus, *Ann*. 4, 51.” Passow. I agree with Passow in condemning all the proposed alterations; but the passage, which he has cited from *Hist*. 4, 18. is not of itself sufficient to show their absurdity. For the objection, taken by the Critics, is to the phrase *hortamina gestare*, and that phrase is not at all vindicated by this passage. Lucan 7, 370. *Credite, pendentes e summis mœnibus altis, Crinibus effusis hortari in prœlia matres*.

[1] *Sanctum aliquid et providum*. Dr. Aikin translates the passage, “They even suppose somewhat of sanctity and prescience to be inherent in the female sex.” “I. e. *divinum* et futura præsentiens. *Sanctitatem* pro *divinitate, majestate*, dici, ad Suet. *Cæs*. 6. dictum.” Ernest. “Non tam *divinum*, uti Ern. interpr.; nam non fecere eas deas, ut in fine hujus capitis dicitur; quam potius *incorruptum*, Macrob. *Sat*. 3, 3. cf. Schütze *de Velleda*. Sexus enim femineus magis invictum animum adversus divitias gerere visus est, quam virilis, cujus fides auro sæpe venalis est. Vide *Macher. Harles. Keisler. Schützе*.” Longol. But there is a nearer connexion between *sanctity*, (i. e. ‘divinity,’ ‘majesty,’) and *prescience*, than between *incorruptibility* and *prescience*. “*Sanctus* frequentissime adjectivum nomen est, et eorum hominum, earumque actionum ac rerum epitheton, quas vel propter legis constitutionem, vel propter quandam cum divina natura conjunctionem, vel propter puritatem suam et innocentiam, violare nefas habetur.” Gesner. *Sanctus* may be here translated “venerable,” “worthy of religious veneration.” “Ovid. *Trist*. 1, 8, 15. *Amicitiæ sanctum nomen et venera-*

earum aspernantur, aut responsa negligunt. Vidimus sub

bile, Met. 1, 76. *animal sanctius*, Deo cognatum, Horat. *Carm.* 4, 5, 4. *Concilium sanctum patrum*, augustum, Diis simile, Cic. *Cat.* 1, 9. *Hic, hic sunt in nostro numero P. C., in hoc orbis terræ sanctissimo gravissimoque concilio*, Ovid. *Amor.* 3, 8, 54. *Dî sancti*, Martial. 4, 2. *Cum plebs et minor ordo, maximusque Sancto cum duce candidus sederet*, blanditur Imperatori (Domitiano) ut Diis proximo, inviolabili," [venerabili, Ovid. *Fast.* 2, 126. de Augusto, *Sancte Pater Patriæ.*] "Sic Valer. Fl. 1, 11. *Sancte pater*, ad Vespasianum superstitem, Virg. *Æn.* 8, 72. *flumen sanctum*, quod Deus insidet, Tac. *Hist.* 4, 10. Sorani *memoria sancta.* Propter divinitatis opinionem defunctorum manibus tribuitur. [*Virg. Æn.* 5, 80. Cic. *Phil.* 14, 12. Val. Fl. 6, 288. Cic. *Top.* 23. *de LL.* 2, 9. *de Amic.* 4.] Brouckhus. ad Tibull. 2, 7, 13." Gesner. "Virg. *sanctum* pro *sacro* posuit, (ut Macrob. l. c. ascribit,) in *Æn.* 2, 686. *et sanctos restringuere fontibus ignes*, sc. quia divinitus immissi, 6, 65. *tuque o sanctissima vates Præscia venturi*, sc, quia deo plena et sacerdos. Sic 11, 785. *sancti custos Soractis Apollo*, 3, 406. *sancti ignes*, h. e. quibus crematur victima, Tibull. 1, 3, 18. *Somnia ter sancta devenerandа mola.* Sancti sunt Dii, et quæ ad illos pertinent, Virg. *Æn.* 3, 543. *numina sancta precamur Palladis armisonæ*, 4, 576. *sequimur te, sancte deorum, Quisquis es*, Lucil. ap. Non. c. 5. n. 22. *Eumenidum sanctissima Erinnys*, Virg. *Æn.* 8, 131. *sancta oracula divum*, [Ps. 28, 2. 'I lift my hands towards thy holy oracle,'] Ovid. *Met.* 14, 536. *Sancta deum genitrix*, 3. fin. *sanctæ aræ*, Gell. 1, 21. *sanctissimum jusjurandum.*" Forcellin. "From the infinite holiness of God it naturally followed that every thing belonging to him should be styled *holy*, his temple, his ministers, his solemnities. Expressions to this purpose are very frequent." Cruden's *Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures.* Thus "holy Prophets," in *Acts* 3, 21. in 2d. Ep. of *Peter* 3, 2. *Rev.* 22, 6. "holy Apostles and Prophets," 18, 20. "holy Angel," *Acts* 10, 22. "Tac. *Germ.* 8. de honore, quem Germani mulieribus exhibebant: *Inesse quinetiam sanctum quid et providum putant, nec aut consilia earum aspernantur, aut responsa negligunt.*" Quæri potest, quid voce *sanctus* h. in l. significetur, et nuperus quidam paraphrastes Parisiensis interpretatur *divinum*, quæ sane vox h. in l. synonyma est cum voce *sanctus* magna e parte. Attamen, quia prorsus idem non significat, sensum non assequetur, quicunque in paraphrasi acquiescet, nec ulterius quidquam investigabit. *Sanctus* hic significat *venerandum, et quod religioso quodam horrore prosequi par est;* nec aliud vult Tac. nisi Germanos credidisse in mulieribus esse nescio quid veneratione religiosa dignum, et quod futura præsagiret. Ita c. 34. eodem libro, ubi narrat Romanos septentrionalem Oceanum navigare non ausos, ut

divo Vespasiano Veledam, diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam. Sed et olim Auriniam, et complures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione, nec tanquam facerent deas.

9. Deorum maxime[1] Mercurium colunt, cui certis die-

quærerent, an aliqua Herculis vestigia iis in locis superessent, *Sanctius*, ait, *ac reverentius visum de actis Deorum credere, quam scire:* h. e. visum esse majoris venerationis ac reverentiæ, si crederetur potius quod narrabatur de diis, quam curiosius investigaretur navigatione, ut veritas inspectione comperta esset. Paulo post c. 11. loquitur de nescio qua quorundam Germaniæ populorum Dea, quam vulgo ferebant in lacu quopiam lavari coram servis, qui postea submergebantur, subditque, *Arcanus hinc terror, sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud, quod tantum perituri vident: ignorantia sancta* est, quæ e religiosa veneratione proficiscitur. Hinc factum etiam, ut *sanctus* verendum oris majestate significaret, ut Ovid. *Fast.* 6, 539. de Carmenta responsum editura,

Vix illam subito posses cognoscere; tanto
Sanctior, et tanto quam modo major erat.

De origine vocis *sanctus* a *sanciendo*, vide G. J. Voss. *Etym.*" J. Clerici *Ars Critica* I, 213. That Le Clerc has given the true interpretation of the word *sanctus* in this passage of Tac., is evident from Tac. himself, who immediately subjoins: *Vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Veledam, diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam; sed et olim Auriniam et complures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione, nec tanquam facerent deas.*

[1] "*Deorum maxime—sacrificat.* Incautus lector facile crederet, hisce animadversis, Germanos eosdem Deos, ac quos Græci colebant, habuisse; qui si nominibus quidem differrent, constitisse tamen eadem fuisse numina. Sed in eodem opere idem Historicus testatur Germanos aliis nominibus usos, nec cum vicinis ulla habuisse commercia, aut exigua; nedum ut haberent cum Græcis procul a se remotis, a quibus proinde religionem accipere non potuerant. Itaque memoratos Deos a Germanis cultos intelligendum est, *interpretatione Romana*, ut alibi c. 43. loquitur, de Suevorum religione verba faciens: *Deos*, inquit, *interpretatione Romana Castorem et Pollucem memorant:* h. e. Deos quosdam, quos Romani eosdem esse ac Castorem et Pollucem judicant." Jo. Clerici *Ars Critica* P. 2. S. 1. C. 13, 11. T. i. p. 280.

[2] *Lucos ac nemora.* So in ch. 11. *nemoribus ac lucis.* "*Lucus*, locus arboribus consitus, et religione sacer; fereque dicitur de manu consitis et non cæduis, in quo a *silva* et *nemore* differt. Serv. ad Virg. *Æn.* 1, 445.:—'*Lucus in urbe fuit media* etc. Ubicunque, inquit, Virg. *lucum* ponit, sequitur etiam consecratio, ut (9, 3.) *luco tum forte parentis Pilumni Turnus, sacrata valle sedebat.* Unde in sexto (v. 673.) *Nulli certa domus; lu-*

bus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant: pars Suevorum

cis habitamur opacis. Dicuntur enim heroum animæ lucos tenere.' Cic. *pro Mil.* 31. *Vos enim jam Albani tumuli atque luci, imploro.* Fere igitur *luci* aut circa deorum templa, aut circa sepulcra ponebantur. Serv. ibid. v. 314.: '*Lucus* est arborum multitudo cum religione; *nemus*, composita multitudo arborum; *silva*, diffusa et inculta.' Horat. *Ep.* 1, 6, 31. *virtutem verba putes, et Lucum ligna?* h. e. lucum esse meram silvam lignorum, nulla religione sacram. Ad discrimen inter *lucum*, *nemus*, et *silvam* pertinent Propert. 4, 9, 24. *Lucus ab umbroso fecerat orbe nemus*, Tibull. 3, 3, 15. *Et nemora in domibus sacros imitantia lucos*, Seneca *Herc. Œt.* 956. *Claudite Elysium mihi, Quæcunque fidæ conjuges nemoris sacri Lucos tenetis,* ubi *lucos nemoris* recessus nemoris horrore et religione sacros dixisse videtur, Liv. 24, 3. *Lucus ibi frequenti silva, et proceris abietis arboribus septus, læta in medio pascua habuit,* ubi *lucus* est sacrum nemus Junonis Laciniæ, *silva* ipsæ arbores, vel potius *lucus* est illud spatium in media silva, abietibus circumdatum, in quo templum et religionis sedes erat, Ovid. *de Arte Am.* 3, 689. *Silva nemus non alta facit, Met.* 1, 568. *Est nemus Hæmoniæ, prærupta quod undique claudit Silva: vocant Tempe.*" [Cic. *de Div.* 1, 114. *Commovent multos nemora et silvæ*, Quintil. 10, 3. *Non audiendi, qui credunt aptissima in hoc nemora silvasque.*] "Ceterum discrimen hoc non est perpetuum. En *nemus* pro *luco* ap. Tac. *Hist.* 4, 14. *Primores gentis, specie epularum, in sacrum nemus vocatos.* Virg. non semel *lucum* adhibuit sine ulla religionis ratione pro *silva*, ut *G.* 2, 122. *Aut quos Oceano propior gerit India lucos*, *Æn.* 11, 456. *alto in luco cum forte catervæ Consedere avium*, 7, 29. 697. *Ecl.* 8, 86." [*Silva* and *nemus* seem to be synonymous in Statius *Theb.* 4' 419. *Silva capax ævi, validaque incurva senecta Æternum intonsæ frondis, stat pervia nullis Solibus, haud illam Brumæ minuere Notusve Jus habet, aut Getica Boreas impactus ab Ursa. Subter opaca quies, vacuusque silentia servat Horror, et exclusæ pallet mala lucis imago. Nec caret umbra deo, nemori Latonia cultrix Additur: hanc piceæ, cedrique, et robore in omni Effictam, sanctis occultat silva tenebris.* But *silva* here means strictly "a wood," "a collection of trees," and when the poet speaks of the Goddess, who ruled in the wood, he expressly uses the word *nemus* to denote that she was worshipped or venerated in the ἄλσος within the wood, so that *nemus* is here used for *lucus*. Virg. *Æn.* 7, 81. *At rex sollicitus monstris, oracula Fauni Fatidici genitoris adit; lucosque sub alta Consulit Albunea: nemorum quæ maxima sacro Fonte sonat, sævamque exhalat opaca Mephitim.* Seneca *Epist.* 41. *Si tibi occurrit vetustis arboribus et solitam altitudinem egressis frequens*

Tac. D

et Isidi sacrificat. Unde causa et origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum, in modum liburnæ figuratum, docet advectam religionem. Ceterum,

lucus, et conspectum cœli densitate ramorum aliorum alios protegentium submovens, illa proceritas silvæ et secretum loci et admiratio umbræ in aperto tam densæ atque continuæ, fidem tibi numinis facit. Here too *lucus* is the ἄλσος, 'the consecrated grove,' and *silva* is 'the wood or forest, which skirted that grove.' So Claudian. *de Laud. Stil.* 1, 228. *Ut procul Hercyniæ per vasta silentia silvæ Venari tuto liceat, lucosque vetusta Religione truces, et robora numinis instar Barbarici, nostræ feriant impune secures,* Lucan. 3, 399. *Lucus erat longo nunquam violatus ab ævo, Obscurum cingens connexis aëra ramis, Et gelidas alte submotis solibus umbras. Hunc non ruricolæ Panes, nemorumque potentes Silvani, Nymphæque tenent, sed barbara ritu Sacra Deum structæ diris altaribus aræ, Omnisque humanis lustrata cruoribus arbos. Si qua fidem meruit superos mirata vetustas, Illis et volucres metuunt insistere ramis, Et lustris recubare feræ; nec ventus in illas Incubuit silvas, excussaque nubibus atris Fulgura: non ullis frondem præbentibus auris.—Et non ardentis fulgere incendia silvæ.* Here the three words are accurately distinguished: 1. *lucus,* 'the place of worship surrounded by trees,' 2. *nemus,* 'a pleasant lawn, on which the rural Deities delight to sport,' 3. *silva,* 'a wood.'] "Contra *silva* pro *nemore* usurpatur a Cic. *Verr.* 3, 19. Corn. Nep. in *Attico* 13. Horat. *Ep.* 1, 10, 22. quibus locis *silva* non de incomposita et inculta arborum congerie, sed de composita et deliciarum causa comparata dicitur. *Nemus* pro *silva,* Ovid. *Met.* 2, 418. *Cum subit illa nemus, quod nulla ceciderat ætas.*" Forcellin. In Virg. *G.* 3, 331. *nemus* is put for "a grove," but without any reference to religion: *Æstibus at mediis umbrosam exquirere vallem, Sicubi magna Jovis antiquo robore quercus Ingentes tendat ramos; aut sicubi nigrum Ilicibus crebris sacra nemus accubet umbra.* So in *Ecl.* 6, 57. *Dictææ nymphæ nemorum jam claudite saltus, saltus* are 'the sequestered pastures within the groves.' So too Tac. *Germ.* 16. *Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit.* But in ch. 40. *nemus* is used for *lucus, Est in insula Oceani castum nemus dicatumque in eo vehiculum.* Festus ex Edit. Dacerii Amstelodami 1700.:—*Nemora significat* (*significant* ap. Paul.) *silvas amœnas, valet enim idem: ejus autem vocabuli auctor Homerus, qui dixit in Iliade* Λ. [480.] Ἐν νέμεϊ σκιερῷ, ἐπί τε λῖν ἔμβαλε [ἤγαγε hodie legitur] δαίμων. *Dubium non est, quin eum designet locum, qui campos et pascua habeat.* Νόμος *a Græcis* διὰ τὸ νομὰ εἶναι ἐν αὐτῷ *appellatum.* "Prima linea deest. Supplendum autem totum ita:—'*Nemora videtur idem, quod silvas amœnas valere. Cujus vocabuli auctor Homerus, cum ait,* Ἐν κ. τ. λ. *Dubium non est de-*

nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam human oris speciem assimulare, ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrantur: lucos ac nemora[2] consecrant; deorumque nomini-

signare locum, qui campos et pascua habet, διὰ τὸ νομὰς εἶναι ἐν αὐτῷ.' Locus, quem citat, est 'Ιλιάδος λ'." Jos. Scal. "Recte quidem Festus *nemus* a *νέμος*, quod Heysch. interpr. *σύνδενδρον τόπον καὶ νομὴν ἔχοντα, Locum arboribus consitum et pascua habentem.* Locus Hom. est Il. λ'. *In nemore* umbroso, leonem autem immisit deus." Dacier. It is surprising that neither of these Scholars has noticed the reading ἔμβαλε for ἤγαγε. The words of Festus, with which the former Scholar has taken too great a liberty, may be read thus without any great violence to the vulgar reading:—*Nemora significat silvas amœnas; valent enim idem; ejus autem vocabuli auctor Homerus, qui dixit in Iliade,* 'Εν κ. τ. λ. *Dubium non est, quin eum designet locum, qui campos et pascua habeat.* Νέμος *a Græcis* διὰ τὸ νομὰς εἶναι ἐν αὐτῷ, *appellatum.* In D. Gothofredi *Auctt. L. L.* p. 126. it is *Iliade* without λ', and *νέμος—νομὰς*, so that the readings *νόμος—νομὰ* in the Edition cited above seem to be mere misprints. Ausonius Popma ex Edit. Augustæ Taurinorum 1730. Neapoli 1779.:—"*Lucus* est ut plurimum incæduus, religiosusque; *nemus* voluptatis causa comparatum est, et plerumque Diis sacrum; *silva*, nomen generale est, et habet arbores incæduas pariter et cæduas; *saltus* vero dicitur locus seclusus, ubi pascuntur armenta, feræque versantur. Catullus (32, 11.) *Silvarumque virentium Saltuumque reconditorum,* Lucr. 5, 1385. *Avia per nemora, ac silvas, saltusque reperta.* Liv. 24, (3.) *Lucus ubi (ibi) frequenti silva, et proceris abietis arboribus septus.* Leg. Henrici Decimatoris *Thesaurus Ling.* p. 752. col. 2. Lipsiæ Literis Lanzenbergianis Anno 1608. in fol. impr." Valla *Elegant.* 4, 56. p. 115.:—"*Silva* et *lucus saltus*que sic differunt, quia *silva* generalius nomen est: præterea solet esse cædua. *Lucus* nequaquam cæduus est, quin potius manu consitus religiosusque, atque vel alicui deo, vel alicujus hominis cineribus consecratus, ideoque aut circa delubra numinum, aut circa sepulcra virorum positus est. *Saltus*, silva invia, nec transeuntibus pervia, in quo pasci atque æstivare pecudes solent, aut, si locus aërque patiatur, hyemare. *Nemora* autem voluptatis causa comparata sunt, et plena amœnitatis." Andr. Chr. Eschenbach in his *Disssertt. Academ.* pp. 133—214. has some excellent matter *de Consecratis Gentilium Lucis*, and to this Diss., which I have quoted in a previous Note, I refer the reader, contenting myself with the following further quotation from p. 135.:—"Nobis præ reliquis illa sententia placet, quæ Latinam hanc vocem, ex ipso Latio petit, et a *lucendo* deducit, non tamen ideo, quasi minime luceant luci, sed potius quod sæpe luce-

bus appellant secretum illud,[1] quod solâ reverentiâ vident.

10. Auspicia sortesque, ut qui maximè observant. Sortium consuetudo simplex: virgam,[2] frugiferæ arbori

ant; et quidem duas potissimum ob rationes; nam et sacrificali igne lucebant luci, et lucernis in arboribus suspensis collustrabantur: quorum prius Ovid. indicat, posterius Prudentius."

[1] *Secretum illud.* "De quo Seneca *Ep.* 41. *Si tibi occurrit vetustis arboribus, et solitam altitudinem egressis, frequens lucus, et conspectum cæli densitate ramorum aliorum alios protegentium submovens; illa proceritas silvæ, et secretum loci, et admiratio umbræ, in aperto tam densæ atque continuæ, fidem tibi numinis facit.* Breviter Plin. 12, 1. *Lucos atque in iis silentia ipsa adoramus.*" Brotier.

[2] *Virgam.* See *M. T. Kirchmaieri Diss. Physica de Virgula Divinatrice, Wittebergæ* 1669. 4. "Temugin having learnt in this place that the grand Can was but three leagues and a half off from him, halted; and to encourage his soldiers, consulted the astrologers and magicians. Marco Polo reports that this Prince ordered them to try his fate by wands, to see which of the two Armies should be victorious. This magical experiment was performed after this manner. The magicians took a piece of green cane, which they split in two to make two sticks, which they set upright on the ground at some distance from one another, after having writ on the one the name of Temugin (whom Marco Polo calls *Cingis*), and on the other Ounghcan (whom he names *Umcan*); then they told Temugin they would begin and read their conjurations, and that during their reading, the two canes by the power of their Idols should approach near to one another, and begin a combat; at the conclusion of which the one should get up upon the other, which should presage that Prince should be victor, whose name was on the cane, that was uppermost. The Mogul Army would be witness of this experiment. The magicians read their book; the two sticks were presently in motion; they approached, touched, and fought, and at last Ounghcan's remained undermost. This prodigy so animated the Moguls and their commanders, that they marched boldly against the enemy. This experiment of the Canes was then in use amongst the Tartars, and is still among the Africans, Turks, and other Mahometan nations. The *Cojas*, or Registers of their Corsairs or Pirate-Ships, commonly try this trick before they fight; and this is what they call, 'Do the book.' It is true they oftener use arrows. Two men sit on the ground over-against one another, and hold each of them two arrows by the iron-part or heads: the ends of the two contrary arrows are fixed together one in another by the notches, where the bow-string

decisam, in surculos amputant, eosque, notis quibusdam discretos, super candidam vestem[1] temere[2] ac fortuitò spargunt: mox, si publicè consuletur,[3] sacerdos civitatis; sin privatim, ipse paterfamiliæ, precatus deos, cœlumque

comes in shooting, so that the four arrows together make as it were but two sticks in a parallel line. Then the *Coja* reads a certain Arabian prayer. They pretend that during this reading these two pair of arrows, two of which represent the Christians, the other the Turks, shall approach one another, in spite of those that hold them, and after fighting, the one pair shall get above the other. (Thevenot's *Travels.*)" M. P. de La Croix's *History of Genghizcan the Great*, London 1722. p. 52.

[1] *Candidam vestem.* "*Candidus* et *albus* ita differunt, ut illud omne, quod ab *arte*, hoc vero, quod a *natura* hunc colorem habet, significet. Neque tamen illud discrimen semper observatur. Candidati apud Romanos distinctionis causa candida veste induti erant. Schoettgen. *de Re Fullonia Veterum.*" Longol. "*Albus*, nomen coloris notissimi, quod a *candido* ita differt, ut *album* pallori conjunctum sit, quale est plumbum, *candidum* vero splendori, quale est in nive, ut docet Serv. ad Virg. 3, 82. Hinc *albo* opponitur *atrum; candido nigrum.* Hoc tamen discrimen passim a scriptoribus negligitur." Forcell. *Lex. tot. Latin.* "Sunt qui *album* a *candido* sic distinguant, ut *album* pallori conjunctum sit, quale est *linteum: candidum* splendori, ut videmus in nive. Et certe hæc est utriusque propria significatio; sed ab auctoribus sæpe confunditur. *Albo* opponitur *atrum; candido, nigrum.*" Gesner. *Thes. L. L.*

[2] "*Temere*, i. sine ordine, sine consilio, Sallust. *Jug.* 54, 6. ibique Corte, Cic. *Off.* 1, 29. *Tusc. Quæst.* 1, 49." Longol.

[3] *Consuletur.* "Muretus legit, *consultatur*, quod probo." Bredow. "Quod factum nolim. Tacito verbum *consultare* haud adhibetur de rebus sacris; *consulere* aliquoties, *Ann.* 14, 30. et ita probatissimi auctores *consulere sortes*, Ovid. *Met.* 11, 412. *sortibus*, Cæs. *B. G.* 1, 53, 7.: absolute quoque positum est ap. Plin. *Ep.* 2, 20, 23.: porro *consulere deos, oracula, haruspicem, mathematicos, exta* etc., Forcell. *Consultare* hac quidem potestate bis legere memini, Plin. *H. N.* 32, 8. *Paneg.* 76, 7. sed fluctuat utriusque loci scriptura, nec si staret, idonea hic mutandi causa foret. In tempore futuro, quo usus est Tac., nemo, puto, offendet." Passow. But, if Tac. uses *consultatio* in the sacred sense, he would not have scrupled, I think, to apply *consulto* in the same way; and it appears somewhat extraordinary that he should use *consulere* in one sentence and *consultatio* in the next. Muretus saw this incongruity, and proposed to remedy it by reading *consultatur* for *consulatur* or *consuletur.*

suspiciens, ter singulos tollit, sublatos secundùm impressam antè notam interpretatur. Si prohibuerunt, nulla de eâdem re in eundem diem, consultatio; sin permissum, auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur. Et illud quidem etiam hìc notum, avium voces, volatusque interrogare. Proprium gentis, equorum[1] quoque præsagia ac monitus experiri. Publicè aluntur iisdem nemoribus ac lucis, candidi, et nullo mortali opere contacti, quos pressos[2] sacro curru sacerdos, ac rex, vel princeps civitatis, comitantur, hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. Nec ulli auspicio major fides, non solùm apud plebem, sed apud proceres, apud sacerdotes; se enim ministros deorum, illos conscios

[1] *Equorum præsagia ac monitus.* "Respicit Romanos; nam Persas quoque equis candidis in rebus sacris usos esse. Tacitum certe non fugerat, Herod. 1, 189. 7, 55. Justin. 1, 10, 5." Passow.

[2] *Prensos sacro curru.* "*Prensos*, i. e. junctos, sic lege, non *pressos*." Jo. Fr. Gronov. *Diatr. in Stat. Silv.* p. 97=53. "Vulgatam lectionem non correxerim, ubi jam Ern. meliora docuit." Hand. "Primi, quod sciam, observavimus perscitum usum verbi *prendere*, cum de equis aut bobus dicitur et absolute et *prendere jugo* pro jungere. Firmatum Virgilii, Nasonis, Statii claris exemplis. Addo nunc Tac. (l. c.) *Quos prensos sacro curru*, i. e. junctos, vulgo *pressos*." Gronov. *Elench. Antidiatr.* p. 139=56. "*Prendere* pro *jungere* non dici, demonstravi in Notis ad *Diatr.* p. 97. Neque in Taciti loco necessaria est correctio. *Curru pressi* sunt equi currui subjuncti: Ovid. *Amor.* 1, 2, 14. *Detrectant pressi dum juga prima boves.* Cruceus igitur non injuriam imponit Gronovio, quum, *Multa*, inquit, *huc congerit, quæ destruunt potius quam adstruunt ejus expositionem.*" Hand. See also Crucei *Muscarium* p. 298=26. "Jo. Fr. Gronov. *prensos*, similiter Ovid. *Met.* 14, 819. *pressos temone equos*, locum huc apprime facientem corrumpens. *Premi* enim de quovis ministerii genere et de levissimo quoque, usurpatur, Heyn. ad Tibull. 4, 10, 3. *pressum quasillo scortum*, et Interprr. Ovid. *Met.* 1, 124. Wopkens *Lectt. Tull.* 1, 18. p. 100." Passow. "Jo. Fr. Gronov. corrigebat *prensos*, ut aliis locis in hac forma, *Diatr. in Stat.* 9. explicans *junctos*. Sed eam rationem late et bene refellit Markland. ad Stat. p. 18, 19, 20.: exemplis Markl. adde Ovid. *Met.* 1, 124. *pressique jugo gemuere juvenci*, ubi omnes libri *pressi*, nec verbum *gemuere* aliter patitur." Ern. "*Pressos—curru*, phrasis raro obvia. Ovid. quidem *Met.* 1, 124. 12, 77. *pressi jugo*, at nullibi quam *Met.* 14, 819. *pressos temone—equos*, ubi Gron. frustra legi vult *prensos*." Longol.

putant. Est et alia observatio auspiciorum, quâ gravium bellorum eventus explorant. Ejus gentis, cum quâ bellum est, captivum, quoquo modo interceptum, cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis committunt:[1] victoria hujus vel illius pro præjudicio accipitur.

11. De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes: ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes pertractentur.[2] Coëunt,

[1] *Committunt.* In the *Bibliotheca Librorum novorum collecta* a L. Kustero et H. Sikio Traj. ad Rh. 1699. 5, 548 there is a notice of a Work on Duelling, written in Dutch by Com. Van Alkemade, *Tractatus de Jure Campi s. Duelli, quo Lites olim decisæ et terminatæ fuere coram Curia Hollandiæ tempore primorum Comitum:*—"Non male auctor ab ultima antiquitate repetit, quia priscos Germanos auspiciis per sortes et per certamina capiendis plurimum indulsisse, vel e Tac. constat, cujus verba sequentia e Libello *de Mor. Germ.* apprime huc conveniunt.—Probe distinguit judicialia ista duella a ludicris pugnæ generibus, quæ varia apud majores nostros fuere, et ab illis in specie, quæ *torneamenta* barbare vocantur, sicut etiam nihil commune illa habuisse censet cum provocationibus militaribus, quales in sacris et profanis historiis plurimæ occurrunt, v. g. certamen Goliathi cum Davide, Horatiorum et Curiatiorum, Titi Manlii cum Gallo etc." "Judicial combats (among the Georgians) are considered as the privilege of Nobility, and take place, when the cause is extremely intricate, or when the power and interest of two claimants are so equal, that neither can force a decision of the Court in his favour. This mode of trial is called an appeal to the judgment of God. —Judicial combats are in use in Imeretia and Mingrelia, as well as in the rest of Georgia; but they are confined to the Nobles. The water-ordeal is likewise sometimes practised; but in civil cases the Mingrelians have adopted a very rational kind of substitute for the common Courts of Justice: each party chooses a judge, and the two judges choose one speaker; to him the plaintiff exposes his preten-ions, and then retires; the speaker then calls for the defendant, to whom he communicates the claim of his adversary, and receives his answer; when the two parties having nothing more to say, the two judges give their decision." *Memoir of a Map of the Countries comprehended between the Black Sea and the Caspian, with an Account of the Caucasian Nations*, pp. 50. 56.

[2] *Pertractentur.* "Prætractentur, Muret. Acidal. Grot. Conring. alii. Non displiceret, nisi Tac. scripsisset, ut EA QUOQUE—pertractentur. Sed nec Ern. nec Gebaver. nec Longol.

nisi quid fortuitum et subitum inciderit, certis diebus, quum aut inchoatur luna, aut impletur; nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt. Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant: sic constituunt, sic condicunt:[1] nox ducere diem videtur. Illud ex liber-

attendisse videtur ad discrimen inter *arbitrium de re* et ipsam *rei pertractationem*." Passow.

[1] *Sic constituunt, sic condicunt.* "Non condicunt aut constituunt in tertium diem, sed in tertiam noctem." Gesner. *Thes. L. L.* "*Constituunt*, i. simul cum aliis definiunt locum, tempus, rem etc.: 22. (*Deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt; constituunt, dum errare non possunt.*) *Condicunt*, i. invicem promittunt, id, de quo convenere, certo tempore vel die executuros esse, Justinian. *Inst.* 4, 6, 15. Gronov. *Obs.* 1, 1. Ducker." Longol. "*Condico*, est dicendo denuntio, ut Festus exponit; sed dicitur de iis rebus, quas denuntiamus alteri, prius mutuo consensu constitutas. Hinc *condicere alicui cœnam* et *ad cœnam*, vel *condicere* absolute, est denuntiare alicui, se apud eum cœnaturum, ipso volente. Nam si recusaret, non *condicere* diceremus, sed *indicere* etc. Suet. *Tib.* 42. Plaut. *Men.* 1, 2, 15. et *Stich.* 3, 1, 38. Cic. *ad Fam.* 1, 9." Forcell. "*Condico* proprie est duorum aut plurium invicem denuntiantium aliquid, et sic constituentium. Domicilium quasi habet hoc verbum in *cœna*, quam *condicit*, qui prior se cœnatum venturum ad alterum denuntiat." Gesner. l. c. "*Constituere*, cum aliquo aliquid statuere: 'Pecuniam in hunc diem me soluturum esse constitui,' aut, 'Pecuniam in hunc diem constitui.' *Condicere*, denuntiare rem esse agendam in certum diem, condicere diem." Bredow. It is evident that Tac. makes some distinction between *condico* and *constituo*; and the question is what is the distinction? Are the words equally applicable to private and to public life? It is certain that they are applied to either by the purest writers of Latinity. But, as Tac. is speaking of national meetings, we must consider the words as here used only in the public sense: the latter word is so used in ch. 22. *Deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt; constituunt, dum errare non possunt.* And we may cite the following passages:—" Plaut. *Curc.* 1, 1, 5. *Si status condictus cum hoste intercedit dies*, Gell. 16, 4. ex veteri formula, *Status condictusve dies cum hoste*, 20, 1. *Quoniam pactum atque condictum cum rege populi Romani perfide ruperat.*" Gesner. "*Condictio*, ait Festus, est in diem certum ejus rei, quæ agitur, denuntiatio: unde statum condictumque diem Decemviri in xii *Tab.* appellarunt judicii causa constitutum, ut ex Cic. et Plauto (ll. cc.) liquet." Vicat. in *Vocabulario Juris utriusque ex variis ante editis, præsertim ex A. Scoti,*

tate vitium, quòd non simul, nec ut jussu[1] conveniunt,

J. Kahl, B. Brissonii, et J. Heineccii Accessionibus, 2d. Ed. Naples 1760. *Constituunt* seems to me to refer to the *resolutions* adopted at their general meetings, such as that they would take such public measures at a specified time; and *condicunt* I refer to the *orders* to certain individuals, which are contained in those *resolutions*, such as that these individuals must at the specified time comply with the directions of the meeting. Dr. Aikin viewed the passage in this light; for he well translates it, "In this form all their resolutions and summonses run."

[1] *Nec ut jussu.* "Ita Cod. Arundel.; *jussu*, omissa conjunctione, Cod. Bamberg. Contra *injussi*, Cod. Longol. et Nor.; *jussi*, Put. Mon. Rhen. Ald. E scriptura depravata Edit. Norimb. ingeniosa Lipsii fluxit conjectura: *ut jussi*, in textum admissa ab Ern. Oberl. Bred. Seeb. et hoc ipsum, ut alia præclara, præbet Ed. Vienn., a me primum adhibita. Sententia loci nihil immutatur, sive legas *ut jussu*, sive *ut jussi*: possis quoque *jussi*, etiamsi jussi fuerint. Vide Gebaver. *Vestig.* p. 30. Dedi tamen, quod certissima inniteretur auctoritate, non quod magis arrideret, quamvis e Cod. quoque Hummel. *ut jussi* enotatum sit a Longolio." Passow. For my part, I read *nec ut jussi*, not only because it expresses the meaning of Tac., but because there is in the phrase, as Ern. has observed, an imitation of Virgil, whose language Tac. frequently adopts, *Æn.* 3, 236. *haud secus ac jussi faciunt.* Dr. Aikin:—"As if it were in obedience to a command." Murphy:—"Regularity would look like obedience; to mark their independent spirit, they do not convene at once." The reading *nec injussi*, is clearly contrary to the sense of the passage, and to what precedes, *illud ex libertate vitium*. The best comment on the words of Tac. will be the following extract from Lewis and Clarke's *Travels among the American Indians*, p. 53, 4.:—"The Indians are sensible of neither civil, nor military subordination: as every one of them entertains a high opinion of his consequence, and is extremely tenacious of his liberty, all injunctions, that carry with them the appearance of a positive command, are instantly rejected with scorn. On this account it is seldom that their leaders are so indiscreet, as to give out any of their orders in a peremptory style; a bare hint from a Chief that he thinks such a thing necessary to be done, instantly arouses an emulation among the inferior ranks, and it is immediately executed with great alacrity: by this method the disgustful part of the command is evaded, and an authority, that falls little short of absolute sway, instituted in its room. Among the Indians no visible form of government is esta-

sed et[1] alter et tertius dies cunctatione coëuntium absumitur. Ut turbæ placuit,[2] considunt armati: silentium per sacerdotes, quibus tum et[3] coërcendi jus est, imperatur. Mox rex, vel princeps, prout ætas cuique, prout nobilitas,

blished; they allow of no such distinction as *magistrate* and *subject*, every one appearing to enjoy an independence, that cannot be controlled." "If a scheme that appears to be of service to the community is proposed by the Chief, every one is at liberty to choose whether, or not, he will assist in carrying it on, for they have no compulsory laws, that lay them under any restriction." Again in p. 64.:—"The chief warrior, whose province it is to regulate their proceedings on this occasion," [he is speaking of hunting excursions,] "with great solemnity issues out an invitation to those, who choose to attend him; for the Indians, as before observed, acknowledge no superiority, nor have they any idea of compulsion." Thus Tacitus says in ch. 8. *Nec regibus infinita, aut libera potestas; et duces exemplo potius quam imperio, si promti, si ante aciem agant, admiratione præsunt;* and in ch. 11. *Rex, vel princeps, prout ætas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, auctoritate suadendi magis quam jubendi potestate.*

[1] *Sed et.* "Nay even." This is the meaning of *sed et* in this place. The expression is elliptical; *non modo hoc*, or some analogous expression being understood. So ἀλλὰ καὶ is used in Greek, by the ellipse οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο.

[2] *Ut turbæ placuit.* "*Turba* conj. Gronov., recepit Ern., quem Bred. secutus est. Bipontini, Oberl. et Seeb. jure tuentur vulgatam. 'Postquam satis frequentes convenisse *sibi* visi sunt,' explicat Gronov., linguæ vim inferens. Hoc voluit Tac.: Initia deliberationum apud Romanos condicuntur, ut magistratibus placuerit; apud Germanos, ex arbitrio plebis: sacerdotum igitur auctoritas, ante consessum ipsum nulla, tunc demum incipit, ubi turbæ consedisse visum fuerit: et hoc dixit, si librorum scriptura servatur." Passow. Dr. Aikin:—"When the number appears sufficient, they sit down armed." "*Ut turba*, ut numerus turbæ, quæ convenerat, satis magnus esse videtur." Bredow. "Melius *ut turba*, i. e. satis numerosa visa est." Brotier. But I prefer the reading and the interpretation of Passow.

[3] *Tum et.* "Tum, ubi consederint, nec diutius. *Tamen et*, Cod. Longol. Nor. recepit. Longol. male. Seebodius, *quibus etiam c. j.* ex conjectura, puto: sed nihil erat mutandum." Passow. "*Quibus tamen c. j.* Ms. Rhen. Lege *quibus tantum:* non habent suffragia." N. Heins. But, if Tac. had so meant, he would scarcely have

prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, auctoritate suadendi magis, quàm jubendi potestate: si dis-

expressed himself with so much obscurity. "*Tamen*, ita sine scribendi compendio Ms. Longol.: unde emergit hic sensus, sacerdotibus quoque coërcendi jus esse. Non enim *tum*, quod quidam malunt, et in Cod. Kapp. et Ed. Rhagii invenitur, sed *in universum* et *semper* sacerdotes jus habuere coërcendi, quod constat ex c. 7. (*Ceterum neque animadvertere, neque vincire, nec verberare quidem, nisi sacerdotibus permissum: non quasi in pœnam, nec ducis jussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt.*)" Longol. On ch. 7. the same Longol. writes:—"Videntur quidem sacerdotes *decollationem et suspendium* ipsi in se suscepisse, at hoc credibile non est, potuerunt etiam damnatis supplicium capitis inferre per alios. Cæs. *B. G.* 6, 13. *Pœnasque constituunt:* v. Muller. ad Laurentium, et cf. Longol. ανθρωποθ. s. 19." But this passage from ch. 7. does not warrant the conclusion, which Longol. has drawn from it: on the contrary it shews clearly that the priests were, during the period of war, (for Tac. is speaking only of that period,) subservient to the executive power in the infliction of punishment, and so Brotier has rightly understood the words, and Dr. Aikin adopts and thus translates Brotier's note:—"The power of life and death, however, was in the hands of magistrates. Thus Cæsar *B. G.* (23.:) 'When a State engages either in an offensive or defensive war, magistrates are chosen to preside over it, and exercise power of life and death.' The infliction of punishments was committed to the priests, in order to give them more solemnity, and render them less invidious." This, however, is an inaccurate version of Brotier's sentence: *Pœna sacerdotibus commissa, ut imperantibus minus foret invidiæ, punientibus plus reverentiæ.* But Tac. himself assigns a more subtle reason, which Brotier overlooks: *Non quasi in pœnam, nec ducis jussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt.* To return to the passage in ch. 11., when Tac. says, *Silentium per sacerdotes, quibus tum et coërcendi jus est, imperatur,* we gather from the words that, notwithstanding the authority of the chiefs and the liberty of the people at those national assemblies, which he had been describing, the priests had, in order to preserve the decorum of the meeting, the right to impose silence, and were invested with the power to enforce it on those occasions, but they had no such right and could exercise no such power at any other time, because the possession and the exercise of it on all occasions would have been equally incompatible with the dignity of the chiefs and the enjoyment of individual freedom. Dr. Aikin:—"Silence is proclaimed (*commanded*) by the priests, who have on this occasion a coercive power."

plicuit sententia, fremitu aspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutiunt.[1] Honoratissimum assensus genus est, armis laudare.

[1] *Frameas concutiunt.* "Callim. *Hymn. in Del.* 136. καὶ ἀσπίδα τύψεν ἀκωκῇ, de hoc more e Lat. Scriptt. quædam notavit Spanh.: animus fert pauca e Græcis addere: eundem ritum describit Xen. K. A. 1, 8, 13. Λέγουσι δέ τινες, ὡς καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἐδούπησαν, φόβον ποιοῦντες τοῖς ἵπποις, 4, 5, 13. Οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες ἀνακραγόντες, οἷον ἐδύναντο μέγιστον, τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἔκρουσαν, Arrian. *Exp. Alex.* 1, 6. p. 14. Οἱ δὲ ἐπαλαλάξαι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Μακεδόνας, καὶ τοῖς δόρασι δουπῆσαι πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας: adde quæ ad Arriani loc. congessit J. Gron." G. D'Arnaud. *Spec. Animadv. Cr. ad aliquos Scriptt. Gr.* 74. "Tertium genus assensus exstat, *concussio armorum*, sic ut hastis ferirent scuta: Ammian. 20, [5.] *Hac fiducia miles, hastis feriendo clypeos, sonitu assurgens ingenti, uno propemodum ore dictis favebat et cœptis:* 16. *Nec finiri perpessi quæ dicebantur, stridore dentium infrendentes, ardoremque pugnandi hastis illidendo scuta, monstrantes, in hostem duci exorabant:* dissentire tamen idem et abire a se videtur, cum scribit, 15, [8.] *Militares omnes horrendo fragore scuta genibus illidentes, quod est prosperitatis indicium plenum, (nam contra cum hastis clypei feriuntur, iræ documentum est et doloris,) immane quo quantoque gaudio Augusti probavere judicium:* satis palam quidem dicit *hastis scuta ferire* in dissensu et ira esse, in assensu et favore *scuta genibus illidi;* sed credo conciliari si dixeris, assensum eum per iracundiam, bonum optabilemque in hostem esse; itaque accipi, cum Imperator de pugna aut acie affatur; at contra infaustum hoc idem, cum alia de re allocutio, et in qua animis irisque nihil opus: invenias et paullo aliter assensum hunc indicatum in eodem scriptore, videlicet *sublatis scutis*, 23. *Conclusa oratione præliator miles exultans, sublatis altius scutis, nihil periculosum fore vel arduum clamitabat sub Imperatore:* quod simile est illi de *sublatis dextris:* iterum etiam aliter in *crepitu armorum*, 24. *Hac modestia Imperatoris oratione delinitus pro tempore miles, auctoritatem ejus sublimitatemque cordis consensu extollebat in cœlum, quod cum vere atque ex animo dicitur, solet amor ex crepitu levi monstrari:* sed hæc talia profecto non prisci nimis, nec mere Romani ritus; ab exteris et barbaris censeo manasse:" [If it be meant that the Romans borrowed this practice in later times from the barbarous nations, with whom they had to contend, it is a mistaken idea, as the Greeks also did the same, though it is true that both nations might only occasionally practise it:] "Germani quidem, et Galli sic factitarunt ab antiquo: Tac. *Germ.* de illis, iterum de iisdem *Hist.* 5, [17.] *Ubi sono armorum tripudiisque, (ita illis mos,) approbata sunt dicta;* at de Gallis Cæs. *B. G.* 7, [4, 15.] *Concla-*

12. Licet apud concilium accusare quoque, et discrimen capitis intendere. Distinctio pœnarum ex delicto: proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt: ignavos,[1]

mat omnis multitudo, et suo more armis concrepat, quod facere in eo consueverunt, cujus orationem approbant." J. Lips. de *Milit. Rom.* 5, 9. T. 3. p. 218. See too the 11th *Dialogue* p. 229. And see Spanh. ad Callim. Hymn. in Jov. T. 2. p. 23. Mallet in his *Northern Antiquities* 1, 203. says that the Scandinavians employed their shields "to terrify the enemy by clashing their arms against them." The Germans undoubtedly struck their frams against their shields in a sort of transport and dance, as Tac. *Hist.* l. c. mentions *tripudia.* Alexander, in his *Geniales Dies* 1, 26. p. 102. observes of the Salian Priests:—"Cum tripudiis ad tibiam solemnique saltatu cœlestia ancylia ejusmodi ferentes, culti ornatique prodibant, ipsique gladiolis illa percutientes cum gressu et gradu composito, pulsu pedum ad sonum vocis modulato, per capitolium et forum, perque urbem incedebant." "*He spake, and, to confirm his words, outflew Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thighs Of mighty Cherubim: the sudden blaze Far round illumin'd Hell: highly they rag'd Against the Highest, and, fierce with grasped arms, Clash'd on their sounding shields the din of war, Hurling defiance toward the vault of Heaven.*" Milton's *Paradise Lost* 1, 663.

[1] *Ignavos et imbelles.* "*Ignavos*, i. qui rem suam negligenter tractant, nihilque præclari gerere student. *Ignavi* opponuntur *strenuis*, Veget. 1, 2. *fortibus*, Tac. *Hist.* 4, 29. Sallust. *Cat.* 12, 5. Gell. 6, 1, 4. Conjunguntur cum *timidis*, Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* 2, 23. et *imbellibus*, Liv. 26, 2. infra c. 31. *Agric.* 15. Gell. 5, 5, 5. Macrob. *Sat.* 2, 2. *Ignavia* ergo majus vitium est quam *otium*. *Imbelles*, i. ad bellum ineptos, minus bellicosos, Suet. *Jul.* 7, 35. Tac. *Hist.* 4, 33. *Ann.* 3, 46. 4, 11. 18, 2. Gell. 4, 8, 4. Notandum vero *ignavos* et *imbelles* h. l. per hendiadyn significare, *in militia ignavos*: consentit Gebaver." Longol. Dr. Aikin translates the words, "cowards, dastards," and gives the following note, abridged from Brotier:—"It has been seen above p. 19. (ch. 6.) that cowardly and dastardly persons were suffered to live, though with merited ignominy. Who then are they, whose cowardice is made a capital crime? Probably those, who, having given their names to the military levies, refused to go to war. Cæsar (*B. G.* 6, 22.) mentions that those, who refused to follow their Chiefs to war, were considered as deserters and traitors. And afterwards the Emperor Clothaire made the following Edict, preserved in the Lombard Law:—'Whatever freeman summoned to the defence of his country by his Count or his officers, shall neglect to go, and the enemy

et imbelles, et corpore infames,[1] cœno ac palude, injectâ insuper crate,[2] mergunt. Diversitas supplicii illuc respicit, tanquam scelera[3] ostendi oporteat, dum puniuntur;

enter the country to lay it waste, or otherwise damage our liege subjects, he shall incur a capital punishment.' As the crimes of cowardice, treachery, and desertion, were so odious and ignominious among the Germans, we find by the Salic Law, that penalties were annexed to the unjust imputation of them." In my opinion *ignavi* are "those, who, having joined the army, fail to perform their military duties from indolence;" *imbelles*, "those, who from cowardice refuse to serve in the army."

[1] *Et corpore infames.* "Malo *ut corpore.*" N. Heins. "Quidam malunt *torpore* et referunt ad *ignavos et imbelles;* alii legunt *informes,* quasi flagitium sit *corpore informem* esse, quod non in potestate hominum positum? aut majoribus nostris, liberos debiles monstrososque mergere, in usu fuerit, apud quos flagitium habebatur quenquam necare c. 19. et 20. Lectio ergo *corpore infames,* quæ etiam in Ms. Longol. invenitur, neutiquam est sollicitanda. *Corpore infames* sunt, qui corpore suo adeo abutebantur, ut illud flagitiis et vitiis contaminarent." Longol. Dr. Aikin, "Those guilty of unnatural practices," and he adds in a note "that incestuous people were buried alive in bogs in Scotland, Pennant's *Tour in Scotland* 1772. Pt. 1. p. 351. Pt. 2. p. 421."

[2] *Injecta insuper crate.* "*Ad vociferationem eorum, quos necari sub crate jusserat,* verba Livii Decadis primæ L. 4. [1, 51.] quæ Tac. in Opusculo *de Mor. Germ.* explicat, *Ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames cœno ac palude, injecta insuper crate, mergunt:* Plaut. *Pœn.* [5, 2, 65.] *Sub cratim uti jubeas sese supponi, atque eo Lapides imponi multos, ut sese neces:* hoc supplicii genus, Carthaginiensibus peculiare fuisse, memoriæ a nonnullis proditur." Jo. Brodæi *Misc.* 1, 28. See too N. Heinsii *Advers.* 3, 1. p. 385. Barker's *Classical Recreations* 205—6. and *the Classical Journal* No. 8, Colum. *R. R.* 1,6, 22. Suet. *Calig.* 16, 1.

[3] *Scelera, flagitia.* Augustin. *de Doctr. Chr.* 3, 10.: *Quod agit indomita cupiditas ad corrumpendum animum et corpus suum,* flagitium *vocatur.* "*Scelera,* i. facinora, quæ in primis *contra alios* committuntur, et licet divulgentur, alios ad eadem patranda non alliciunt, quin potius terrorem iis injiciunt, quo minus talia audeant: e. gr. proditio, fuga ex acie. *Flagitia* vero, quæ *contra se ipsum* committuntur, 1 Cor. 6, 18. prudentis consilii est abscondere, ne alii seducantur, vide ad c. 6." Longol. "*Flagitia abscondi.* Egregie dictum. Flagitia enim vel pœna discuntur. Publica autem fama crescit horror scelerum. Inde Liv. 39, 16.:—*Minus tamen esset, si flagitiis tantum effeminati forent,* (*ipsorum magna*

flagitia abscondi. Sed et levioribus delictis, pro modo pœnarum,[1] equorum pecorumque numero convicti mulctantur: pars mulctæ regi, vel civitati; pars ipsi, qui vindicatur, vel propinquis ejus exsolvitur. Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes, qui jura per pagos vicosque[2]

ex parte dedecus erat,) a facinoribus manus, mentem fraudibus abstinuissent. In *Lege Burgundiorum* tit. 34. leg. 1.: *Si qua mulier maritum suum, cui legitime juncta est, dimiserit, necetur in luto.*" Brotier. Dr. Aikin:—"This difference of punishment has in view the principle, that villainy should be exposed, while it is punished, but turpitude concealed." Busbequius, in his *Epistles concerning his Embassy into Turkey,* London 1694. p. 182., relates the story of an old woman, who fell in love with a girl, pretended to be a man, assumed a man's dress, was married to the girl, and, when the fraud was discovered, "was carried to the General of the Janizaries, who, in the absence of the Grand Seignior, was Governor of the City. He presently commanded her to be packed away and drowned in the deep; such was the unfortunate issue of her wild amours. For you must know that the Turks make no noise, when *secret* offences are committed by them, that they may not open the mouths of scandal and reproach; but *open* and *manifest* ones they punish most severely."

[1] *Pro modo pœnarum.* "Sic clare in Ms. Longol. Frustra Ern., Acidalium secutus, *pro modo, pœna.* Librarii terminationibus genitivorum sequentium seducti videntur, ut lectionem mutarent. Sensus est: Pœna leviorum delictorum in eo consistit, ut certo pecorum vel equorum numero multentur, uti c. 21. Vide Gebaver." Longol. "*Pro modo pœnarum.* Hæc est librorum omnium scriptura recte explicata a Longol. et Gebavero *Vestig.* 732. Ut pœna levior graviorve, ita equorum pecorumque numerus minor vel major. Acidalii conj. *Levioribus delictis pro modo pœna. Equorum*——secuti sunt Ern. Oberl. Bred. Seeb." Passow.

[2] *Per pagos vicosque.* "*Pagus,* κώμη, plures vici aut villæ simul positæ, nullo mœnium ambitu, a παγὰ Dorico pro πηγή, *Fons,* ut Fest. et Serv. ad Virg. *G.* 2, 382. docent, quia circa fontes villæ condi consueverunt. Differt a *vico,* ut totum a parte, quia *vicus* pluribus casis, *pagus* pluribus vicis constat. Interdum et pro *vico* ponitur, Virg. l. c. Præmiaque ingeniis pagos et compita circum Thesidæ posuere, Tac. *Ann.* 1, 56. *Reliqui omissis pagis vicisque, in silvas disperguntur.*" Forcellin. *Lex. tot. Latin.* "*Vicus,* κώμη, ῥύμη, multæ domus junctæ, ab Æolico ϝοῖκος vel Βοῖκος, pro οἶκος. Differt a *pago;* nam *pagus* de rure tantum dicitur, *vicus* et de rure et de urbe. Deinde *vicus* est pars *pagi,* Tac. *Germ.* 12." Forcellin. l. c. "*Pagus,* simul positæ villæ, h. e. rusticanæ do-

reddunt.[1] Centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium simul et auctoritas, adsunt.

mus in vicinia positæ, et societate quadam dominorum conjunctæ. Dicti a fontibus, ut ait Fest., quod eadem aqua uterentur. Aquæ enim lingua Doria παγαὶ appellantur. *Pagi* videntur in plano fuisse: hinc *paganos* a *montanis* distinguit Cic. *pro Domo* 74. c. 28., ut annotat Græv. in loc. Nempe ibi etiam facilior aquarum et fontium, παγῶν, copia. Ad hanc distinctionem respicere videtur Varro *L. L.* 5, 3. p. 49, 7.: *Dies septimontium nominatus ab heis septem montibus, in queis sita urbs est, feriæ non populi, sed montanorum modo, ut Paganalibus* (int. rem suam faciunt,) *qui sunt alicujus pagi.* Ita distinguendum putamus, puncto ante *feriæ* sublato: *septimontium* sunt montanorum feriæ, paganorum *paganalia.* Sed redeundum est ad Ciceronem, cujus integer locus ita habet:—*Nullum est in hac urbe collegium, nulli pagani aut montani, quoniam plebei quoque urbanæ majores nostri conventicula et quasi consilia quædam esse voluerunt.* Observemus, *pagos* esse plebis urbanæ collegia. Sed majores etiam societates hominum, ac velut civitates fuere *pagi*, certe apud Germanos veteres. Tac. *Germ.* 12.: quem locum exponens Althamer., 'Inter *vicum* et *pagum*,' inquit, 'hoc interest discriminis: *vicus* significat villarum, i. e. domorum rusticanarum congeriem absque mœnibus; *pagus* vero vicorum societatem, ditionem, s. agrum, qui multis vicis constat.' Hæc mire illustrant Cæsarem, *B. G.* 1, 12. 37. 4, 1. Similia his Turnebus, qui addit:—'Sic ager Romanus a Numa Pompilio in pagos fuerat distributus, ut scribit Dionys., Διεῖλε τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν εἰς τοὺς καλουμένους πάγους. Tractus enim quosdam et partes regionis ita vocavit, quod quidem et Plut. scribit, Εἰς μέρη τὴν χώραν διεῖλεν, ἃ πάγους προσηγόρευσεν. Pagis autem illis præerant pagorum magistri. Erant et *pagi* castella quædam et munitiones juxta Romam in locis editis, quo se plebs rustica, hoste in agrum Romanum incursiones faciente, recipiebat; et in certos pagos erat contributa, ut Dionys. scribit. Cic. etiam in plebe Romana *paganos* et *montanos* numerat.' Vide etiam Glarean. *Annott. in Cæsar.*, Salmas. in *Vopisc. Saturn.* 18. Voss. *Lex. Etym.* Manut. *Ep.* 3, 7. Scalig. *Lectt. Auson.* 1, 23. p. 66. Recte igitur Isid. 15, 2. primo *pagos* inter civitatis genera refert; deinde '*pagi*,' inquit, 'sunt apta ædificiis loca inter agros habitantibus. Hæc et conciliabula dicta, a conventu et societate multorum in unum.'" Gesner. *Thes. L. L.* "Germaniæ et Galliæ populi, eorumque regio in pagos dividebatur, qui erant pars ampla regionis, oppida non una, vicos pagosque complexa, quæ *nomus*, *præfectura*, *tribus*, aut etiam *provincia* dici posset. Itaque ap. Cæs. *B. G.* Germanorum, Morinorum, Arvernorum, Suevorum, Helvetiorum pagi memorantur; et ap. Tac. *Ann. Hist.*

13. Nihil autem neque publicæ neque privatæ rei, nisi armati agunt. Sed arma sumere non antè cuiquam moris, quàm civitas suffecturum probaverit. Tum in ipso concilio, vel principum aliquis, vel pater, vel propinquus scuto frameâque juvenem ornant: hæc apud illos toga, hic primus juventæ honos: ante hoc domûs pars videntur, mox reipublicæ. Insignis nobilitas, aut magna patrum merita, principis dignationem etiam adolescentulis assignant. Ceteris robustioribus ac jampridem probatis aggregantur, nec rubor inter comites aspici. Gradus quin etiam et ipse comitatus habet, judicio ejus, quem sectantur: magnaque et comitum æmulatio, quibus pri-

et *Germ.* Sequanorum, Nerviorum, Æduorum, Semnonum, Gugernorum. Hujus appellationis ratio videtur esse, quia olim eæ gentes raris oppidis habitabant, et per agros dispersi sine mœnium præsidio degebant, multitudine et viribus satis se munitas arbitrantes. Ut autem commode posset administrari res publica, certis divisionibus regiones definiebant, totiusque civitatis quasi corpus in membra distribuebant, in quibus haberentur conventus, et ex iis delecti principes in unum, cum opus esset, de maximis rebus acturi, congregarentur. Horum pagorum alii amplissimi fuerunt, ut in Helvetia, quæ universa in quatuor tantum pagos divisa erat, ut est ap. Cæs. *B. G.* 1, 12. quos nunc dicimus *Cantoni.* Alii erant minores; nam Suevis centum attribuit 4, 1. et totidem Tac. *Germ.* 39. Semnonibus, quorum tamen universa civitas haud multum Helvetiorum civitatem superabat, ut affirmat Cluver. *Germ. Antiq.* 1, 13. sub fin. Verum et isti satis ampli erant; nam de Suevis ita habet Cæs. l. c. *Ii centum pagos habere dicuntur, ex quibus quotannis singula millia armatorum bellandi causa suis ex finibus educunt: reliqui domi manent, pro se atque illis colunt.* De administratione rei publicæ 6, 22.: *In pace nullus communis est magistratus, sed principes regionum atque pagorum jus inter suos dicunt.* Hi pagi rursus in minores partes dividebantur. Cæs. 6, 10. In Gallia non solum in omnibus civitatibus atque pagis partibusque, sed pæne etiam in singulis domibus factiones sunt." Forcellin.

[1] *Reddunt.* "Ern. *reddant,* quod receptum est a Bip. Oberl. Bred.: male; ii enim in conciliis eliguntur, quos per pagos vicosque jus reddere cognitum erat Tacito, hos vero accurate distinguit ab iis, penes quos in conciliis licebat accusare et discrimen capitis intendere. Ceterum mira est lect. diversitas Codd. Arund. et Bamb., *Qui vita per pagos vicosque excellunt.*" Passow.

mus apud principem suum locus; et principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Hæc dignitas, hæ vires, magno semper electorum juvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus, in bello præsidium. Nec solùm in suâ gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat: expetuntur enim legationibus, et muneribus ornantur, et ipsâ plerumque famâ bella profligant.[1]

[1] *Bella profligant.* "In bonam partem *res profligatas* ponit Justin. 17, 8, 1. *Interea Agathocles profligatis in Africa rebus, tradito Archagatho filio exercitu, in Siciliam recurrit*, i. e. rebus gestis, propemodum ad finem perductis, imo prospere gestis: cf. quæ sequuntur, *Omnes Siciliæ urbes, auditis rebus, quas in Africa gesserat, certatim se ei tradunt*: Freinsh. putat *res profligatas* ibi esse *adflictas*, quod locum habere possit, si ad Agathoclis hostes referas, sed nihil opus est: nam et sic 20, 4, 13. *In juventute quoque quantum profligatum sit, victi feminarum contumaces animi manifestant*, i. e. quantum Pythagoras in docenda juventute profecerit, ut præcedentia nimis aperte indicant: Suet. *Oth.* 9. *Sperans que ante Vitellii adventum profligari plurimum posse:* Flor. 2, 6, 40. *Certum est tamen, ad profligandam provinciam maxime profecisse singularem ducis sanctitatem:* ibi vero idem Freinsh. in *Indice* veriora ac plura in hanc partem adfert: alia quoque similia Lexicographi jam habent, quibus refutatur Gell., dum 15, 5. inscite eos loqui ait, qui *profligare* rem pro *promovere* dicant; sed et Lipsius ad Tac. pag. *Notar.* 479. s. *Hist.* 2, 4. ex Ancyrano Lapide eund. refutavit, aliique, quos nobis indicat Duker. ad Flor. 2, 15, 2. *Primo commissum bellum, profligatum secundo, tertio vero confectum est*, et Græv. ad Cic. *Ep. ad Fam.* 8, 9. *Cum ad eam diem ne profligatum quidem quidquam erat*, i. e. nihil profectum, promotum, in eo negotio." J. F. Reitz *de Verbis Ambig. Med. et Contrariis.*" Rem cœptam promoveo, et prope finem adduco, Liv. 21, 40. *Cum fæderum ruptore deos ipsos committere ac profligare bellum: nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus, commissum ac profligatum conficere.* Suet. *Oth.* 9. (l. c.) Arnob. 7. p. 244. *Ludis terminatis profligatisque curriculis.* Reprehendit Gell. (l. c.) eos, qui hoc sensu usurpant, ignarus inter hos et Cic. et Liv." [3, 2, 3.] "esse, et in *Monumento Ancyrano* Augustum: ne Tac. accenseam, Flor. et alios. Vide *Profligatus.*" Forcellin. *Lex. tot. Latin.* "Illud, puto, verùm est in hac (Gellii) disputatione, proprie *profligari* dici ea opera, quæ sic indicantur molestiam aliquam habere, quicum pugnandum certandumque sit. Igitur *bellum* et *iter* pulcre dicentur *profligari; valetudo* etiam, in

14. Quum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute vinci;

quantum indicatur, illam oppugnari velut hostiliter. Sed, ut fit, in lubrico sita hominum lingua non patitur se rationibus semper contineri. Itaque in ipsius Augusti *Monumento Ancyrano* legimus, quod damnat hic Grammaticus, et ridet Prætor: *Inter ædem Castoris et Ædem Saturni cœpta profligataque opera a patre meo perfeci.* Tac. *Hist.* 2, 4, 5. *Profligaverat bellum.* Seneca *de Vita beata* 1. *Tunc circumspiciendum est, qua contendere illo celerrime possimus; intellecturi in ipso itinere, si modo rectum erit, quantum quotidie profligetur.*" Gesner. *Thes. L. L.* But these Lexicographers do not seem to have perceived the meaning of Gell.:—"*Qui Latine locuti sunt, non* profligatum, *sed* adfectum *dixerunt:* interpretum nonnulli insignem hic errorem in Gellio deprehendere sibi videntur. Objectant auctoritates Ciceronis, Livii, Taciti, Flori, et aliorum, qui *profligatum* pro *adfecto* dixerunt: quibus et ego addere habeo testimonia Valerii Maximi 7, 5, 4. et Senecæ *de Otio Sap.* 29. Verum enimvero ecquis diligens *Noct. Att.* lector nescit, eos, *qui Latine locuti sunt*, non alios censeri a Gellio, quam qui ante, vel ad Ciceronis usque ætatem floruerunt, Scipionem, Catonem, Quadrigarium, Metellum, Pisonem, Gracchos, &c.? Ecquis nescit porro, jam tum temporibus Ciceronis, *peregrinitatem in urbem Romam* fuisse *infusam*, uti ipsemet *ad Fam.* 9, 15. scribit? ut Gellio temere proinde error in h. l. exprobretur." C. Falsteri *Admonitt. ad Interprr. Gellii* 15, 5. subjoined to *Amœnitates Philologicæ.* I consider the explanation of Falster to be preferable to the following:—"Agellius Sulpitium Apollinarem secutus, doctissimum Grammaticum, 15, 5. reprehendit eos, qui sua ætate *profligandi* verbo et *profligato* uterentur, pro eo, quod *pæne confectum* vel *adfectum* dicitur. *Profligare* enim cum ab affligendo et ad perniciem interitumque deducendo tractum sit, semper apud veteres, qui diligenter locuti sunt, valere idem, quod *prodigere, prodere,* et *res profligatas* idem quod *perditas.* M. A. Muret. ad Senec. (l. c.) Agellium reprehendit, aitque veteres, in quibus et Cic., verbo *profligandi* usos esse pro *adfecto* aut *pene confecto.* Puto hanc controversiam ita minui posse, si dicamus Cic. et alios ejusdem notæ scriptores hoc verbo usos fuisse plerumque pro *perdito;* interdum tamen et pro *adfecto*, sed in rebus aut negotiis tantum, vel actionibus, iisque fere asperis et duris, ut in bello, quæstione, aut controversia; nunquam vero in aliis verbis, ut in ædificiis, tempore, ætate. Non enim dicebant *profligatum domum, templum, diem, æstatem, librum*, pro *pæne absoluto:* quo tamen modo loquebantur tempore Agellii, quos eo nomine Agell. reprehendit. Fateor quoque veteres quosdam, in quibus et Cœlium, Senecam, aliosque re-

turpe comitatui, virtutem principis non adæquare; jam verò infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum, superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse. Illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriæ ejus assignare, præcipuum sacramentum est. Principes pro victoriâ pugnant; comites pro principe. Si civitas, in quâ orti sunt, longâ pace et otio torpeat; plerique nobilium adolescentium petunt ultro eas nationes, quæ tum bellum aliquod gerunt; quia et ingrata genti quies, et faciliùs inter ancipitia clarescant, magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque tueare: exigunt enim principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem [1] equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam. Nam epulæ et convictus, quanquam incompti, largi tamen apparatus, pro stipendio cedunt: materia munificentiæ per bella et raptus. Nec arare terram, aut exspectare annum, tam facilè persuaseris, quàm vocare hostes et vulnera mereri: pigrum quin imo et iners videtur sudore acquirere, quod possis sanguine parare.

15. Quotiens bella non ineunt, non multum venatibus,[2]

centiores quosdam, verbo hoc usos pro *adfecto:* sed veteres eos, qui diligentius locuti sunt, imitari malim. Prioris notionis auctoritates non adfero, ut notas. De altera hæc sunt: Cic. *Ep.* 12, 30. *Profligato bello ac pœne sublato renovatum bellum gerere conantur,* et *Or. de Prov. Cons.* 14. *Si in Capitolium invehi victor,——vos tamen oporteret ab eodem illa omnia, a quo profligata sunt,* Tusc. 5, 6. *Profligata jam hæc et pœne ad exitum adducta quæstio est.*" Gifan. *Obss. in L. L.* Ed. Altenburgi 1762. p. 390.

[1] *Bellatorem equum.* "Phædrus p. 9. Wolf. *Fab.* 16., ego hunc ita refinxerim versum, *Fraudator homo aliqua rogans sponsore improbo. Fraudator homo* dicitur ut *calumniator canis, Fab.* seq. et *lector Cato, Fab.* 4, 6.: sic *bos arator* Suetonio dicitur *Vespas.* 5. et *equus venator,*" [*bellator,*] Tac. *Germ.* 14.: duo posteriora exempla debeo J. Broekhusio, quem operæ est adire ad Tibull. p. 202." G. Richter. *Spec. Obss. Cr. in var. Auctt. Gr. et Lat.* Jenæ 1713. p. 65. "*Bellator,* de brutis et de rebus aliis ad pugnandum aptis, Virg. *G.* 2, 145. Ovid. *Fast.* 2, 12. *equus,* Stat. *Theb.* 12, 603. *taurus,* Sil. 13, 376. *ensis,* Stat. *Theb.* 8, 378. *campus.* Vide *Venator.* Absolute de *equo,* Juv. 7, 126. *ipse feroci Bellatore sedens curvatum hastile minatur.*" Forcellin. *Lex. tot. Latin.*

[2] *Non multum venatibus.* 'Lips., Ern., Menage, aliique multi eruditi viri deletam volunt

plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno, ciboque. Fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens; delegatâ domûs, et penatium, et agrorum curâ feminis senibusque, et infirmissimo cuique ex familiâ, ipsi hebent: mirâ diversitate naturæ, quùm iidem homines sic ament inertiam, et oderint quietem. Mos est civitatibus, ultro ac viritim conferre principibus vel armentorum vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum, etiam necessitatibus subvenit. Gaudent præcipuè finitimarum gentium donis, quæ non modò a singulis, sed publicè mittuntur: electi equi, magna ar-

particulam *non*. Certe recte omitteretur. Idem tamen sensus, seu retinetur s. omittitur. Plus enim temporis per otium transigunt, quam venatibus. Paucis mensibus venantur: reliquum anni somno ciboque datum. Hæc adhuc Canadensium populorum vita. Oratorie magis quam vere, Cæs. *B. G.* 6, 21. *Vita Germanorum omnis in venationibus et in studiis rei militaris consistit.*" Brotier. "Obelo confodiunt *non* plerique omnes Interprr., pugnam cum Cæs. *B. G.* 6, 21, 3. deprehendisse sibi visi. Si ita, expungant etiam illa Cornelii *plus per otium*, quippe quod illis Cæsar statim subjungit, *Ab parvulis labori ac duritiæ student.* At salva res est: Primum Cæsari cum Germanis nihil negotii erat, nisi in bello; deinde Germanos ad Rheni ripam habitantes vix domi penitusque perspexerat, nedum interiores; tandem Tac., qui centum quinquaginta annis post Cæsarem scripsit, certior fieri potuit morum Germanorum, quam Cæsar. Nec silentio prætereundum est, Tac. dicere voluisse, Germanos non *tam* multum tempus venatibus, *quam* per otium transegisse. Lect. nostram, omnibus libris qua scriptis qua cusis firmatam, egregie defendit Koehler." Longol. "Lips. pugnam cum Cæsare (l. c.) imo, quod dicit, cum ratione et usu compositurus, spreta librorum auctoritate, negationem expunxit: speciosa profecto correctio, plurimorum post Lipsium editorum assensu comprobata. Sed narratio Cæsaris, Germanorum vitam in venationibus et studiis rei militaris consumi, Tacito haud magis repugnat, quam quæ subjungit, *a parvulis eos labori ac duritiæ studere*, vide Longol. egregie de h. l. meritum. Et sane qui attente nullisque occupatus opinionibus totum locum examinaverit, huic persuasissimum erit, negationem ab ipso Tac. profectam ne posse quidem abesse. Profecto enim repugnat usui ac rationi, gentem, talibus oblectationibus assuetam, quales in sequentibus enumerantur, animi causa et ultra necessitates indulgere venatibus. Seebodius quoque vulgatam attrectare veritus est." Passow.

ma, phaleræ, torquesque: jam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.

16. Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari, satis notum est; ne pati quidem inter se junctas sedes: colunt[1] discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. Vicos locant, non in nostrum morem, connexis et cohærentibus ædificiis: suam quisque domum spatio circumdat, sive adversùs casus ignis remedium, sive inscitiâ ædificandi. Ne cæmentorum quidem apud illos, aut tegularum usus: materiâ ad omnia utuntur informi, et citra speciem, aut delectationem. Quædam loca diligentiùs illinunt terrâ ita purâ ac splendente, ut picturam ac lineamenta colorum imitetur. Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus: quia rigorem frigorum ejusmodi locis molliunt: et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur: abdita autem et defossa, aut ignorantur, aut eo ipso fallunt, quòd quærenda sunt.

17. Tegumen omnibus sagum, fibulâ, aut, si desit, spinâ consertum:[2] cetera intecti, totos dies juxta focum atque ignem agunt. Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatæ ac Parthi, sed strictâ et singulos artus exprimente. Gerunt et ferarum pelles, proximi ripæ negligenter, ulteriores exquisitiùs,[3] ut quibus nullus

[1] *Colunt discreti.* "*Colere* sc. *terram*, Apul. *Met.* 1, 12. Qui extra *urbem totam et pomœrium colit*, Macrob. *Sat.* 1, 2. *Qui primi coluisse in Italia dicuntur; incolere* sc. *terram*, Cæs. *B. G.* 5, 4. *Proximique sunt Germanis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt.*" J. F. Grimm. *de Ellips. Lat.* Francof. et Lips. 1743. p. 137.

[2] *Tegumen—spina consertum.* Virg. *Æn.* 3, 594. *Consertum tegumen spinis*, Ovid. *Met.* 14, 166. *spinis conserto tegmine nullis.*

[3] *Negligenter—exquisitius.* "In sententia mea usque persto trajecta verba illa, *negligenter*, *exquisitius*, et hoc priori, illud posteriore loco reponendum: videbam et rationem, et auctoris mentem ita velle: alioqui enim pugnat ratio illa, quæ sequitur, *ut quibus nullus* etc. Firmabam et ex altero loco illo, p. 641. ubi Germanos ripæ proximos vinum mercari scribit, cum ulteriores sc. hordeaceo potu utantur: suberat tantum scrupulus ex eo, quod cum instituitur comparatio, vox simplex primo loco, comparationis

per commercia cultus. Eligunt feras, et detracta velamina

index posteriore poni solet: at ecce hunc ordinem quoque vertit Noster, *Hist.* 1. p. 420. *Dirumpunt imagines Galbæ, quarta legio promptius, duodena constanter.*" Extracted from a Letter of Jacobus Lectius, addressed to Justus Lipsius, and inserted in the *Philolog. Epist. Centuria Una diversorum a renatis Literis DD. VV.* p. 377: "Mirum Interpretes haud paucos in hoc loco offendisse, ut etiam de transpositione verborum cogitarent, quum sensus sit facilis. Præter sagum, s. rhenonem, ut Cæsar [*B. G.* 6, 21.] vocat, gerebant etiam Germani ex sententia Nostri ferarum pelles. Harum tamen apud singulos non unum erat pretium. Exigua enim cultus pellicei erat cura apud gentes, ripæ (Rheni) proximas, quibus per commercia cum Romanis meliorum vestium copia facta erat; majus in pellibus eligendis et ornandis studium ponebant ulteriores. Detractas enim ferarum selectiorum pelles spargebant, (spargere, i. e. distinguere, variegare, ut *pelles sparsæ albo* ap. Virg. *Ecl.* 2, 41.) maculis pellibusque, (i. e. maculis, factis ex pellibus,) beluarum, quas Oceanus et mare ignotum gignit. Ferarum ergo pellibus maculas alii coloris assuebant, a beluis marinis petitas. Quum in his ipsis ornatus ille conspiceretur, Rhenique accolæ ab Oceano quam plurimum abessent, jam hanc ob causam *exquisitius* cum voc. *ulteriores* junctum haud turbari debet. Cæterum Oceanum Tacitus dicit omnino Mare septentrionale, cujus nos duas esse partes novimus, Mare Germanicum, (*die Nordsee,*) et Mare Balticum (*die Ostsee*). *Ignotum* autem *mare* haud dubie illud est, de quo infra c. 45. pluribus disputat." C. A. G. Emmerling. *Comment. de Locis nonnullis in Taciti Germania.* p. 15. "Locus ab Editoribus multum vexatus, sed si quis alius sanus. Lectionis varietatem deprehendi nullam, nisi quod Mon. verba *ut quibus* omisit. Bredovius quidem hæc: —'In Cod. quodam est, *Ulteriores exquisitius: at quibus nullus per commercia cultus, eligunt feras.* Sed nec ipse novos Codd. adhibuit, nec priorum Editorum quisquam, quantum mihi quidem innotuerit, mentionem fecit hujus lectionis, cujus fides sit penes auctorem. Transpositiones subinde justo violentiores Mureti, Carrionis, Cluverii probe refutavit Lips.: ipse ab Ernestio jure explosus propter futilem vocabuli *maculis* in *mastrucis* mutationem. *Maculas pellesque beluarum* dixit maculas e beluarum pellibus confectas, de quo rariore quidem, sed ap. Tac. sæpius obvio dicendi genere copiose accurateque egit G. L. Walch. *Emendd. Liv.* p. 67. Infra c. 28. *A similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur,* 38. *Oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt.*" Passow. "Noli cum Cluverio legere *ulteriores negligenter, proximi ripæ exquisitius.* Nam *proximi ripæ* per commercia poterant vestes ex panno,

spargunt maculis pellibusque beluarum,[1] quas exterior Oceanus, atque ignotum mare gignit. Nec alius feminis quàm viris habitus, nisi quòd feminæ sæpiùs lineis amictibus velantur, eosque purpurâ variant, partemque vestitûs superioris in manicas non extendunt, nudæ brachia ac lacertos;[2] sed et proxima pars pectoris patet.

lana, aut lino confectas nancisci, ideoque parum curabant pelles, iisque sine delectu utebantur; *ulteriores* vero, apud quos magna ferarum copia erat, eligebant sibi optimas et pulcerrimas pelles, partim quia ipsi vestibus sericis, panneis, aliisque carebant, partim quia multitudinem pellium neque vendere neque permutare poterant." Longol.

[1] *Pellibusque beluarum.* "*Pelles beluarum, quas exterior Oceanus gignit, atque ignotum mare* non intelligam de *piscibus: pelles* quis tribuat *piscibus*, et duræ *piscium* membranæ quomodo *vestibus* aptæ? Locus Justini de Scythis 2, 2. e vitioso libro sumtus est: boni libri habent *murinis*, quod verum est: imo intelligendæ *pelles transmarinarum ferarum*, quales hodie zibellinæ: tales pelles a Suionibus potuerunt accipere, qui oceanum accolebant, et per quos etiam Romani postea eas pelles accepere. Vide Voss. ad Catull., ubi de zibellinis digna lectu." Ern. "Lips. intelligit *pelles piscium marinorum.* Hæc explicatio locum habere nequit; nam vestium usui aptæ non fuissent pelles piscium. Melius est, beluas, *quas exterior oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit*, metonymice accipere et explicare de pellibus beluarum, quæ in terris, quas oceanus adluit, inveniuntur." Longol. These Editors are mistaken:—Suet. *Aug.* 2, 90. *Tonitrua et fulgura paulo infirmius expavescebat, ut semper et ubique pellem vituli marini circumferret pro remedio.* "All savages are fond of variety of colors: hence the Germans spotted their furs with the skins of other animals, of which those here mentioned were probably of the seal-kind. This practice is still continued with regard to the ermine, which is spotted with black lamb's-skin." Dr. Aikin.

[2] *Brachia ac lacertos.* "*Lacerti*, pars brachiorum humeris proxima." Brotier. "*Brachia* a manu usque ad cubitum; *lacerti* a cubito ad humerum." Longol. "*Brachia*, the Arm, that part from the shoulder to the wrist; *lacerti*, the Arm, that part from the elbow to the wrist." Dumesnil's *Latin Synonyms*, where two passages are cited from Ovid to justify this definition, when they, in point of fact, afford direct evidence to the contrary and the true distinction, as we shall soon see. "*Brachium*, membrum hominis a cubito ad manum, duobus ossibus constans, quorum alte-

18. Quanquam severa illic matrimonia; nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris. Nam propè soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur. Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert. Intersunt parentes et propinqui, ac munera probant, munera non ad delicias muliebres quæsita, nec quibus nova nupta comatur; sed boves, et frenatum equum, et scutum cum frameâ gladioque. In hæc munera uxor accipitur; atque invicem ipsa armorum aliquid viro affert. Hoc maximum vinculum, hæc arcana sacra, hos conjugales deos arbitrantur. Ne se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes,[1] extraque bellorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur, venire se laborum pericu-

rum *radius*, alterum *cubitus* et *ulna* appellatur. Ita vocem *brachii* accipit Cels. 8, 1. et 10. n. 3. ubi agit de brachio fracto. Nam reliquam partem, quæ est a cubito ad humerum, *os humeri*, atque etiam *humerum* appellat: alii Lat. scriptores *lacertum*. Ovid. *Met.* 1, 500. Tac. *Germ.* 17. Ceterum sæpius *brachium* dicitur totum illud, quod est ab humero ad manum, Cic. *pro Cæl.* 5. *Cohibere brachium toga.*" Forcellin. *Lex. tot. Latin.* "*Brachium* vel totum illud nobilissimum corporis nostri instrumentum notat, vel eam partem, quæ inter cubitum et manum proprie dictam interposita est: hoc docet enumeratio ista partium, Ovid. *Met.* 1, 500. *laudat digitosque manusque, Brachiaque, et nudos media plus parte lacertos*: item ista Lucr. 4, 827. *Brachia tum porro validis, exapta lacertis Esse, manusque datas utraque a parte ministras.*" Gesner. *Thes. L. L.* "*Lacertus* in homine dicitur brachii latius accepti pars summa, inter humerum et cubitum intercepta: Ovid. *Art.* 3, 307. *Pars humeri tamen ima tui, pars summa lacerti Nuda sit*: ergo *pars ima humeri* eadem *summa pars* lacerti; certe continentes sunt *humerus* et *lacertus*, Ovid. *Met.* 14, 304. *redeunt humeri, subjecta lacertis Brachia sunt.*" Gesner. l. c.

[1] *Extra virtutum cogitationes.* "Cur nuptarum comam discriminant hastæ cuspide? An monentur nuptæ, quia bellicosis junguntur maritis, debere ipsas ornatu uti simplici et a luxu ac mollitie alieno? Idem de Germanis testatur Tac. *Germ.* (18.) *Munera—ne se mulier extra virtutum*, forte *virorum*, *cogitationes—denuntiant.*" M. Z. Boxhorn. *Animadv. in Plut. Quæst. Rom.*, subjoined to his own *Quæst. Rom.* Lug. Bat. 1637. p. 141. Dr. Aikin:—"That the woman may not think herself excused from the exertions of fortitude, or exempt from the casualties of war."

lorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in prœlio passuram ausuramque: hoc juncti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denuntiant: sic vivendum, sic pereundum: accipere se, quæ liberis inviolata ac digna reddat, quæ nurus accipiant rursus, quæ ad nepotes referantur.

19. Ergo septâ pudicitiâ agunt, nullis spectaculorum illecebris, nullis conviviorum irritationibus corruptæ. Litterarum secreta[1] viri pariter ac feminæ ignorant. Paucis-

[1] *Litterarum secreta.* That this passage relates to clandestine correspondence is evident from the words, which immediately follow, *Paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria.* This was a more efficacious method of seduction than either splendid spectacles, or sumptuous banquets, which he had mentioned before. If Tacitus had alluded to the other meaning, he would have said, not *pariter viri ac feminæ ignorant,* but *litterarum secreta ignorant,* without the other words *pariter viri ac feminæ.* "Litteras quidem noverant, ut patet ex Marobodui et Adgandestrii Epistolis, *Annal.* 2, 63. 68.: at amatoria et furtiva litterarum secreta viri pariter ac feminæ ignorabant. Præterea rarissimus fuit litterarum usus apud rudem bellicosamque gentem. Ea rusticitas diu obtinuit. Inde, ut annalibus nostris compertum, non modo plebs, sed et nobiles viri et militari gloria præstantissimi, illustrissimus *de Guesclin,* aliique plurimi, nec scribere, ne legere quidem poterant." Brotier. When Tacitus penned this passage, he had the depraved manners of his countrymen in his view: it was among them a favourite mode of seduction. Gronovius has collected a few instances: —"Suet. de Nicia (*Gramm.* 14.) *Quum codicillos Memmii ad Pompeii uxorem de stupro pertulisset:* notum ex Plut. in *Cat. Min.* 24. *δελτάριον μίκρον ἐξώθεν εἰσκομίσθεν* altercanti cum Catone Cæsari, quod ille cum poposcisset, quærens inde adversario invidiam, *Σερουιλίας τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐπιστόλιον ἀκόλαστον, πρὸς τὸν* Καίσαρα *γεγραμμένον, ἐρώσης καὶ διεφθαρμένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,* agnovit: Martial. 14. 6. *Tunc triplices nostros non vilia dona putabis, Cum se venturam scribet amica tibi.*" Mallet, in his *Northern Antiquities* 1, 305. says justly:—"As for Tacitus, he has probably been misunderstood" [by those, who attempt to prove that the Missionaries first introduced letters into the North, an opinion, in the refutation of which Mallet expatiates with considerable force, and much learning, from p. 303-14.]: "those, who are acquainted with his style and manner, if they re-consider the passage, will not doubt but this is his meaning, 'that both the German men and women were ignorant of the secret of writing letters or epistles,' that is, with a view to carry on an intrigue. So the best translators of Tacitus, and so the Abbé Bletterie has rendered this passage in his celebrated French Version.

sima in tam numerosâ gente adulteria, quorum pœna præsens, et maritis permissa: accisis crinibus, nudatam, coram propinquis, expellit domo maritus, ac per omnem vicum verbere agit. Publicatæ enim pudicitiæ nulla venia; non formâ, non ætate, non opibus maritum invenerit. Nemo enim illic vitia ridet; nec corrumpere et corrumpi, sæculum vocatur. Meliùs quidem adhuc eæ civitates, in quibus tantùm virgines nubunt, et cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur: sic unum accipiunt maritum, quo modo unum corpus, unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultrà, ne longior cupiditas, ne tanquam maritum, sed tanquam matrimonium ament. Numerum liberorum finire, aut quenquam ex agnatis necare,[1] flagitium habetur: plusque ibi boni mores valent, quàm alibi bonæ leges.

20. In omni domo nudi ac sordidi in hos artus, in hæc

What they relate of the Druids," [as to their ignorance of letters,] "chiefly respects the Celtæ of Gaul, nor is it equally applicable to the other Northern people: we may easily suppose there were among them many warriors and illustrious men, who could not write, without concluding from thence that the whole nation was equally ignorant." Passow, however, leans to the other interpretation of this passage:—"Multum disputatum est de his verbis an Germanis cognitionem artis scriptoriæ detraherent, necne? Vide quæ plenissime congessit Adelung. *Hist. Antiq. Germ.* 375., ipse haud dubie recte statuens Tac. in universum loqui de usu scripturæ, qui nullus fuerit apud has nationes. *Secreta litterarum* apte opposita sunt simplici et ingenuæ sermonis sinceritati." ['*Secreta litterarum* eodem modo adhibuit, quo c. 22. *secreta pectoris*, Plin. *Hist. Nat.* Præf. *secretum materiæ.*' Longol.] "Nec quicquam efficitur exemplo Adgandestrii, Chattorum principis, *Ann.* 2, 88. qui litteris ad Senatum datis mortem Arminii promittebat, si patrandæ neci venenum mitteretur, nec epistolis Marobodui ad Tiberium scriptis, *Ann.* 2, 63. De gente enim loquitur Tac., non de regibus nonnullis, qui artibus vitiisque Romanis erant corrupti."

[1] *Quenquam ex agnatis necare.* We are told in *the Travels of Captains Lewis and Clarke from St. Louis by way of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers to the Pacific Ocean,* London, 1809. that the Indians have among them a plant, which has the power of producing abortion: "it is related by Mr. Jefferson, in his *Notes on Virginia,* that the Indians, inhabiting the frontiers, possess a plant, that produces the same effect."

corpora, quæ miramur, excrescunt. Sua quemque mater uberibus alit; nec ancillis ac nutricibus delegantur. Dominum ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas: inter eadem pecora, in eâdem humo degunt, donec ætas separet ingenuos, virtus agnoscat. Sera juvenum venus, eoque inexhausta pubertas.[1] Nec virgines festinantur:

[1] *Inexhausta pubertas.* "Generandi facultas, quæ cum pubertate incipit, Tac. *Germ.* 20." Forcellin. "Pro vi generandi et vigore per senectutem etiam durante posuit." Gesner. "Is. Voss. ad Melam 3. explicat *ἀναφροδισίαν*, quæ ibi *pueritia.* Pueritiam recte accipit; sed pubertas aliud est, nempe vis juvenilis generandi, quæ sero consumitur." Ern. "Facultas generandi: v. Conring." Longol. The proper meaning of *pubertas* is, '*the age of puberty, which is* 14 *in boys, and* 12 *in girls.*' It is sometimes used to signify *the vigour of youth*, and Tac. may have so employed it here: 'It is late before the young men indulge in venery, and hence they do not waste their vigour in the age of puberty.' Mallet in his *Northern Antiquities*, and Dr. Percy, his translator, understand the word in this sense. Tac. certainly cannot mean by *pubertas* what Forcell. Gesner and Ernesti understand by it; but he alludes to a common notion of the Greeks, that venery indulged at this early age weakens the body. Pythagoras says in Diog. L. 8, 9. Ἀλλὰ *καί ποτε ἐρωτηθεὶς πότε δεῖ πλησιάζειν; ὅτε βούλει γίνεσθαι σεαυτοῦ ἀσθενέστερος, εἶπεν.* Diod. S. in his *Excerpta*, says of Pythagoras, Καθόλου *γὰρ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀφροδισίων ὑπελάμβανεν εἶναι βλαβερὸν, τὴν δὲ συνέχειαν αὐτῶν τελέως ἀσθενείας καὶ ὀλέθρου ποιητικὴν ἐνόμιζε.* M. Anton. in the first Book of his Work, says, Παρὰ *τῶν θεῶν——καὶ τὸ μὴ πλέον ἐκτραφῆναι παρὰ τῇ παλλακῇ τοῦ πάππου· καὶ τὸ τὴν ὥραν διασῶσαι· καὶ τὸ μὴ πρὸ ὥρας ἀνδρωθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἐπιλαβεῖν τοῦ χρόνου.* Aristotle *de Rep.* 7, 14. p. 308. Schn. after having stated many other bad effects of early marriages, says: Καὶ *τὰ τῶν ἀῤῥένων δὲ σώματα βλάπτεσθαι δοκεῖ πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν, ἐὰν, ἔτι τοῦ σώματος αὐξανομένου, ποιῶνται τὴν συνουσίαν· καὶ γὰρ τούτου τις ὡρισμένος χρόνος, ὃν οὐχ ὑπερβαίνει πληθύον ἔτι. Διὸ τὰς μὲν ἁρμόττει περὶ τὴν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἡλικίαν συζευγνύναι, τοὺς δ' ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, ἢ μικρόν· ἐν τοσούτῳ γὰρ ἀκμάζουσί τε τοῖς σώμασι σύζευξις ἔσται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν παῦλαν τῆς τεκνοποιΐας συγκαταβήσεται τοῖς χρόνοις εὐκαίρως.* Cæsar *B. G.* 6, 5. says of the Germans:—"*Qui diutissime impuberes permanserant, maximam inter suos ferunt laudem: hoc ali staturam, ali vires, nervosque confirmari putant; intra annum vero vigesimum feminæ notitiam habuisse in turpissimis habent rebus.*" Dr. Aikin:—"The youths partake late of the pleasures of love; and hence pass the age of puberty unexhausted." Murphy:—"It is generally late before the young men enjoy the pleasures of love; by consequence, they are not enfeebled in their prime."

eadem juventa, similis proceritas:[1] pares validæque miscentur;[2] ac robora parentum liberi referunt.[3] Sororum

[1] *Eadem juventa, similis proceritas.* Tac. means by *juventa, Maturity of youth and vigour.* A proportional youth was required in the women, before they were allowed to marry. An early acquaintance with the other sex would have prevented them from ever attaining their proper vigour; their *puberty* would have been exhausted; and they could have never reached the *same maturity of vigour.* The sense of *juventa* here justifies my interpretation of *pubertas.* But Tac. says, that not only the same maturity of vigour, but a proportional size of body was required in the women: an early acquaintance with the other sex would have checked their growth. Cæsar says in the passage, which I have quoted, that they supposed that their stature was improved by this abstinence, *hoc ali staturam;* and Aristotle says *l. c.* 'that an early intercourse between the sexes prevented the body from reaching its proper size.' Hence we need not to be surprised at the gigantic limbs, and the colossal stature, which the ancient Germans are said by the writers of antiquity to have possessed: *Robora parentum,* says Tac., *liberi referunt.*

[2] *Pares, validique miscentur.* The reading, which Ernesti, Oberlin, Brotier, and the Bipontine Editors, have adopted, is, *Pares validæque:* Lipsius first wrote *validi.* "*Validique,* Lips. et Pichena ex ingenio, ut videtur. Fluxit emendatio e verbis perperam acceptis, *eadem juventa, similis proceritas,* quæ ad tempus nuptiarum referri non debebant. Dicit Tac. in eadem qua pueri educatione juvenili ad eandem proceritatem virgines quoque pervenisse; nec multum repugnarem, si quis, distinctione sublata, in *eadem juventa* ablativum velit agnoscere. Certe peccatum est a Bredovio, commate tantum post *proceritas* incidente." Passow. The context, an appeal to which will generally determine the reading, which ought to be adopted, shews the necessity of *validi,* which includes both the sexes; for, as a natural consequence of the intercourse between the sexes being deferred, till the parties are equally matched in youth and size, he adds this remark, that 'the children thus inherit the constitution of their parents,' *ac robora parentum liberi referunt.* If we adopt the reading of *validæ,* Tac. is made to say what he had told to us before in the expressions *eadem juventa, similis proceritas,* and, perhaps, few Writers are so free from the charge of tautology: this reading also makes *pares* superfluous. "Intellige, Pares maritis ætate, aliisque rebus ducuntur, in primisque validæ." Ern. "Sensus, Virgines ejus-

filiis idem apud avunculum, qui ad patrem honor: quidam

dem ætatis et conditionis matrimonio sibi jungunt." Longol. "Pares ætate, conditione, viribusque miscentur; ubi enim inæqualis erat conditio, multabantur." Brotier. Dr. Aikin gives the same interpretation. 'But,' as Murphy justly observes, 'the equality here intended by Tacitus, seems from the context, to be no other than maturity of years in the contracting parties: the distinctions of rank, which took place among the Franks in Gaul, were unknown to the German tribes in their own country.' How any critics could suppose *an equality of condition* to be meant by *pares*, is to me a matter of astonishment: *pares* could not have been used by itself in that sense, unless there had been some *previous* mention of condition. I suppose that Tac. intended, by *pares validique*, a hendiadys, a figure which is very common in his Writings. We read in the *Germ.* 17. *Spargunt maculis pellibusque belluarum*, i. e. *maculatis pellibus:* 33. *Oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt*, i. e. *ad oblectationem oculorum:* Liv. 38, 7. *stuppam picemque*, i. e. *stuppam piceatam:* Tac. *Agric.* 10. *Jugis etiam, atque montibus inseri velut in suo: Germ.* 40 *Sed prœliis et periclitando tuti*, i. e. *periclitando prœlia:* Cic. *ad Att.* 4, 2. *Dolor et magnitudo*, i. e. *magnus dolor.* Virg. *Æn.* 1, 61. *Molemque et montes insuper altos*, i. e. *molem montium.* Again, *Pateris libamus, et auro*, i. e. *pateris aureis.* This interpretation of *pares validique* makes the whole sentence perfectly clear:—'The young men never indulge in venery till a late period, and hence they do not waste their vigour in the prime of life: nor are the young women brought forward too early; the same maturity of youth, and a proportional stature is required; and thus the two sexes are united in their fullest perfection of strength.

[3] *Ac robora parentum liberi referunt.* This is, as I have observed, a natural consequence of the intercourse between the sexes being deferred, till the parties are equally matched in youth, in strength, and in size. When Tac. penned this sentence, he had in his eye Aristotle, who says *l. c.* that 'the growth of the body is impeded by too early an intercourse between the sexes:' he also says in the same chapter that 'the children of these early marriages are either imperfect in their members, or diminutive in their size;' and appeals for the truth of his assertion to 'the fact that, wherever such early marriages are tolerated, these effects result.' Plutarch says, in his *Laconic Apophthegms*, of Lycurgus, Ἄλλου δὲ ἐπιζητοῦντος διὰ τί σώματα τῶν παρθένων δρόμοις καὶ πάλαις καὶ βολαῖς δίσκων καὶ ἀκοντίων διεπόνησεν, Ἵν', ἔφη, ἡ τῶν γεννωμένων ῥίζωσις, ἰσχυρὰν ἐν ἰσχυροῖς σώμασιν ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα, καλῶς βλαστάνῃ κ. τ. λ. And again, Ὁρίσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν χρόνον τῶν

sanctiorem arctioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur, et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt; tanquam ii et animum firmiùs et domum latiùs teneant. Heredes tamen successoresque sui cuique liberi; et nullum testamentum. Si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres, patrui, avunculi. Quantò plus propinquorum, quò major affinium numerus, tantò gratiosior senectus; nec ulla orbitatis pretia.

21. Suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris seu propinqui, quàm amicitias, necesse est: nec implacabiles durant. Luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero, recipitque satisfactionem universa domus: utiliter in publicum; quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiæ juxta libertatem. Convictibus et hospitiis[1] non alia gens effusiùs indulget. Quemcumque mortalium arcere tecto, nefas habetur: pro fortunâ quisque apparatis epulis exci-

τε γαμουμένων καὶ τῶν γαμούντων, πρὸς τὸν ζητοῦντα, Ἵν', ἔφη, τὰ γεννώμενα ἰσχυρὰ ᾖ ἐκ τελείων γεννώμενα. And he gives to us in the same work another repartee of Lycurgus on the same subject: *Πρὸς δὲ τὸν θαυμάζοντα διότι τὸν γεγαμηκότα ἀπεῖρξε μὴ συγκοιμᾶσθαι τῇ γεγαμημένῃ, προσέταξε δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας συνεῖναι τοῖς ἡλικιώταις καὶ τὰς νύκτας ὅλας συναναπαύεσθαι, τῇ δὲ νύμφῃ κρύφα καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας συνεῖναι, Ὅπως, ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἰσχυροὶ ὦσι, διακορεῖς μὴ γενόμενοι, καὶ τῷ φιλεῖν ἀεὶ καινοὶ ὑπάρχωσι, καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα ἐρρωμενέστερα παρέχωσι.* But, perhaps, when Tac. wrote this sentence, he intended to allude to the customs of his compatriots: I had always entertained this idea, and was confirmed in it by reading the subsequent passage in Plut.'s *Comparison of Lycurgus with Numa*:—"The Romans married their daughters at the age of 12 years, or below that period, that their husbands might receive both their bodies and their minds pure and untainted." As Plut. is contrasting in this passage the regulations about marriage introduced by the two Legislators, we may conclude, from the context, that this was one of the Laws of Numa. Dr. Adam, in his *Roman Antiquities*, has not mentioned the usual age, at which the young women were married. The Italians of both sexes in our days still marry at a very early age, like the Easterns.

[1] *Convictibus et hospitiis.* "Hospitality is pre-eminent with all nations in their infancy," says Mr. G. Ensor in his learned and entertaining Work on *the Poor and their Relief*, London, 1823. p. 9—16., and he cites abundant instances from the savages of ancient and modern times to justify the remark.

pit. Quùm defecere, qui modò hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes, proximam domum non invitati adeunt: nec interest: pari humanitate accipiuntur. Notum ignotumque, quantum ad jus hospitii, nemo discernit. Abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris: et poscendi invicem eadem facilitas. Gaudent muneribus; sed nec data imputant, nec acceptis obligantur. Victus inter hospites comis.[1]

22. Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, lavantur; sæpiùs calidâ, ut apud quos plurimùm hiems occupat. Lauti cibum capiunt: separatæ singulis sedes, et sua cuique mensa. Tum ad negotia, nec minus sæpe ad convivia procedunt armati. Diem noctemque continuare potando, nulli probrum. Crebræ, ut inter vinolentos, rixæ, rarò conviciis, sæpiùs cæde et vulneribus transiguntur. Sed et de reconciliandis invicem inimicis, et jungendis affinitatibus, et asciscendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello, plerumque in conviviis consultant: tanquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus, aut ad magnas incalescat. Gens non astuta, nec callida, aperit adhuc secreta pectoris,[2] licentiâ

[1] *Victus inter hospites comis.* "Bleterius Francogallus hæc spuria esse judicavit, non sine aliqua veri specie, qua decepti Ern. Bred. Seeb. verba nostra cancellis incluserunt. Si vero consideraveris, Tac. hactenus de Germanorum hospitalitate ergo ignotos locutum esse, verbaque hæc postrema ad eos pertinere, quos mutuum amicitiæ fœdus junxerit, (*inter hospites,*) necessario addita tibi videbuntur. Sententiam meam ipsa hujus capitis verba, *Convictibus et hospitiis non alia gens effusius indulget,* haud parum asserunt." Passow.

[2] *Adhuc secreta pectoris.* "*Adhuc,* Codd. Tur. et Hummel. Put. Mon. Vienn. Rhen. Ern. Oberl. Bred. Seeb. recte: *ad hoc,* Codd. Arund. et Longol. Nor. Longol.: *ad hæc,* 'vet. Edit.' ap. Jac. Gron.: *tunc,* Pichena et Cluver. ex ingenio. Ut de lectione, ita de sensu multum disputatum est: mihi vix ullus Tac. locus clarior et apertior visus est: tamen præter Ern. veram sententiam nemo ne attigit quidem, et Ern. quoque dubitanter: 'Dupliciter licet interpretari, vel *insuper, etiam,* vel *nunc, quoque,* nondum edocta artes dissimulandi et fingendi alia, quam sentiat.' Posterius proxime abest a vero. Hic quoque respicit Tac. ad Romanos, a quibus Germani nondum didice-

joci: ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens. Posterâ die retractatur, et salva utriusque temporis ratio est:[1] deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt: constituunt, dum errare non possunt.

23. Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus: proximi ripæ et vinum mercantur. Cibi simplices: agrestia poma, recens fera, aut lac concretum. Sine apparatu, sine blandimentis expellunt famem. Adversùs sitim, non eadem temperantia. Si indulseris ebrietati, suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minùs facilè vitiis, quàm armis vincentur.

24. Genus spectaculorum unum, atque in omni cœtu idem. Nudi juvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter gladios se atque infestas frameas, saltu jaciunt. Exercitatio artem parat, ars decorem: non in quæstum tamen, aut mercedem: quamvis audacis lasciviæ pretium est, voluptas spectantium. Aleam, quod mirere, sobrii inter seria exercent, tantâ lucrandi perdendive temeritate, ut, quum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac novissimo jactu de libertate et de corpore contendant. Victus voluntariam servitutem adit: quamvis juvenior, quamvis robustior, alligari se ac venire patitur. Ea est in re pravâ pervicacia: ipsi fidem vocant. Servos conditionis hujus per commercia tradunt, ut se quoque pudore victoriæ exsolvant.

25. Ceteris servis, non, in nostrum morem, descriptis per familiam ministeriis, utuntur. Suam quisque sedem, suos penates regit. Frumenti modum dominus, aut pecoris, aut vestis, ut colono, injungit; et servus hactenus

rant, intimos pectoris sensus occultare et abscondere. E contrario c. 15. *Jam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.* Sed optime locum illustrat proœmium *Agricolæ.*" Passow.

[1] *Ergo—ratio est.* "Distinctionem exhibui, qualem Vienn. præbet: vulgo interpungunt post *retractatur*. Sed nec structuram, *mentem retractare*, Latinum putem: nec conclusionem, *ergo——retractatur*, sententiæ satis aptam. Detecta et nuda omnium erat mens, quia Germani, licentia joci invitati, in conviviis secreta pectoris aperire non dubitarent." Passow. "*Ergo*, neutiquam significat *igitur*, *idcirco*, sed *ceterum*, *porro*, c. 19, l. 45, 4." Longol.

paret: cetera domûs officia[1] uxor ac liberi exsequuntur. Verberare servum ac vinculis et opere coercere, rarum: occidere solent, non disciplinâ et severitate, sed impetu et irâ, ut inimicum; nisi quòd impunè. Libertini non multum supra servos sunt; raro aliquod momentum in domo, nunquam in civitate; exceptis dumtaxat iis gentibus, quæ regnantur. Ibi enim et super ingenuos et super nobiles ascendunt: apud ceteros, impares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt.

26. Fenus agitare, et in usuras extendere,[2] ignotum;

[1] *Cetera domûs officia.* "Quæ hic *cetera* sint *officia,* plane non intelligo; domus enim non est domini, sed servi, qui, quod modo dixerat Tac., suos Penates regit. Necessitatem vero tributorum domino pendendorum nec inter *officia domus* nec omnino inter *officia* poterat referre. *Cetera,* vi adverbii acceptum, a verbis *domus officia* separare durius videtur, quamvis sensus loci tale quid exigat. Hinc suspicio mihi subnata est, *cetera* ad præcedentia pertinere, adjectivumque excidisse, quod quale fuerit ex oppositione licet colligere, *liber;* nec aliud vocabulum facilius poterat oblitterari per proxime insequentia, *uxor ac liberi.* Hunc igitur in modum rescripserim locum: *Et servus hactenus paret, cetera liber. Domus officia uxor ac liberi exsequuntur.* Servus haud secus ac dominus agit, c. 15. Ad verba ipsa cf. Horat. *Carm.* 4, 2, 60. *niveus videri, Cetera fulvus, Epist.* 1, 10, 50. *Excepto quod non simul esses, cetera lætus,* et ibid. 3. *hac in re scilicet una Multum dissimiles, at cetera pæne gemelli.* Cf. Bentl. ad loc. postr., N. Heins. ad Ovid. *Met.* 9, 99. Cort. ad Sallust. *Jug.* 19, 7. et inverso ordine, *Germ.* 45. *Cetera similes uno differunt,* 29. *Cetera similes Batavis, nisi quod——.*" Passow. It is remarkable that Dr. Aikin felt himself unable to find any meaning in *cetera:*—"So far only the subjection of the slave extends. His domestic offices are performed by his own wife and children."

[2] *In usuras extendere.* "Ern. *usuris* vel *per usuras extendere.* Longol. *fenus* accepit de pecunia, sub usuris collocata: debebat certe exempla hujus usus afferre. C. A. G. Emmerling. (l. c. p. 22.) putat auctorem notionem per adjectivum exprimendam peculiari quodam verbo, quo magis emineat, sejunctim exposuisse, et hinc explicat: 'Fenus agitare et pecuniam in usuras extensiores collocare.' Antonius denique Interpr. vernac. p. 151. omnia hæc de usuris spuria putat. Mihi de h. l. sane difficillimo haud constat: præ ceteris tamen Emmerlingii placet sententia: nisi malis pecuniam, cujus notio inest *fenori,* intelligere ad verba *in usuras extendere.* In Notis Interpretationi Germanicæ subjunctis

ideoque magis servatur, quàm si vetitum esset. Agri,[1] pro numero cultorum ab universis per vices occupantur, quos mox inter se secundùm dignationem partiuntur: facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia præstant. Arva per annos mutant; et superest ager: nec enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli laborare contendunt, ut pomaria conserant, et prata separent, et hortos rigent: sola terræ seges imperatur. Unde annum quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species: hiems, et ver, et æstas intellectum ac vocabula habent: auctumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur.

27. Funerum nulla ambitio: id solùm observatur, ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur: struem rogi nec vestibus, nec odoribus cumulant: sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adjicitur. Sepulcrum cespes erigit: monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem, ut gravem defunctis, aspernantur. Lamenta ac lacrimas citò, dolorem et tristitiam tardè ponunt. Feminis lugere honestum est; viris meminisse. Hæc in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus accepimus. Nunc singularum gentium instituta, ritusque, quatenus differant, quæ nationes e Germaniâ in Gallias commigraverint, expediam.

28. Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus auctorum divus Julius tradit: eòque credibile est, etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos. Quantulum enim amnis obstabat, quo minus, ut quæque gens evaluerat, occuparet permutaretque sedes promiscuas adhuc, et nulla

Bredovius vulgatam ita tuetur, ut verba, *in usuras extendere*, separet a *fenere*, *pecuniam*que suppleat." Passow.

[1] *Agri*, *camporum spatia*, *arva*, *solum*, *terra*. "*Terra* opponitur *mari* et *cælo*; *solum*, quod cuivis rei subjacet, quod aliquid sustinet, e quo alia nascuntur," [c. 29. *Terræ suæ solo et cælo;*] "*campus*, magnus, etiam liberioris aquæ; *ager*, territorium urbi circumjectum, quo cives uti solent ad fructum faciendum, *ager pascuus*, *sylvestris*, *novalis*, *agri arbos ac vitis*, maxime vero *ager* qui colitur frumentis gignendis; *arvum*, *ager arvus*, i. e. *aratus*, quod aratum non satum est." Bredow.

regnorum potentiâ diversas? Igitur inter Hercyniam silvam, Rhenumque et Mœnum amnes, Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, Gallica utraque gens, tenuere. Manet adhuc *Boiemi* nomen, significatque loci veterem memoriam, quamvis mutatis cultoribus. Sed utrùm Aravisci in Pannoniam ab Osis, [Germanorum natione,][1] an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam commigraverint, quum eodem adhuc sermone, institutis, moribus utantur, incertum est: quia, pari olim inopiâ ac libertate, eadem utriusque ripæ bona malaque erant. Treveri et Nervii circa affectationem Germanicæ originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tanquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis, a similitudine et inertiâ Gallorum separentur. Ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubiè Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. Ne Ubii quidem, quanquam Romana colonia esse meruerint, ac libentiùs *Agrippinenses*, conditoris sui nomine, vocentur, origine erubescunt, transgressi olim, et, experimento fidei, super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

29. Omnium harum gentium virtute præcipui Batavi, non multùm ex ripâ, sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt, Chattorum quondam populus, et seditione domesticâ in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. Manet honos, et antiquæ societatis insigne; nam nec tributis contemnuntur, nec publicanus atterit: exempti oneribus et collationibus, et tantum in usum prœliorum sepositi, velut tela atque arma,[2] bellis reservantur. Est in

[1] *Germanorum natione.* "Locum, ut nunc habet, corruptum esse, medelamque exspectare, nemo non videt. Tac. enim ipse c. 43. *Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos.* Hinc non dubitavi verba *Germanorum natione* non tam corrupta, quam textui aliunde obtrusa, obelo notare: a Tac. certe profecta esse nequeunt. Nam quæ unica restat explicandi via, *Germanorum nationem* eam dici, quæ habitet intra Germaniæ fines, inepto interpolatore, quam scriptore accuratissimo dignior est." Passow.

[2] *Tela atque arma*, c. 33. *Non armis telisque Romanis.* "Festus: *Tela* proprie dici videntur ea, quæ missilia sunt: ex Græco videlicet translato eo nomine, quia illi τηλόθεν missa dicunt, quæ nos *eminus;* sicut *arma*, ea quæ ab humeris dependentia retinentur manibus." Sed la-

eodem obsequio et Mattiacorum gens. Protulit enim magnitudo populi Romani ultra Rhenum, ultraque veteres terminos, imperii reverentiam. Ita sede finibusque in suâ ripâ, mente animoque nobiscum agunt, cetera similes Batavis, nisi quòd ipso adhuc terræ suæ solo et cœlo acriùs animantur. Non numeramus inter Germaniæ populos, quanquam trans Rhenum Danubiumque consederint, eos, qui Decumates agros exercent. Levissimus quisque Gallorum, et inopiâ audax, dubiæ possessionis solum occupavere. Mox limite acto, promotisque præsidiis, sinus imperii, et pars provinciæ habentur.

30. Ultra hos Chatti initium sedis ab Hercynio saltu inchoant, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis, ut ceteræ civitates, in quas Germania patescit, durant: siquidem colles paullatim rarescunt, et Chattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit. Duriora genti corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus, et major animi vigor. Multum, ut inter Germanos, rationis ac sollertiæ: præponere electos, audire præpositos, nosse ordines, intelligere occasiones, differre impetus, disponere diem,[1] vallare no-

tius patet, ut *telum* sit quidquid est, quo alius potest vulnerari." Gesner. "*Arma*, pluraliter tantum, sunt proprie *quæ armos tegunt*, Serv. ad Virg. *Æn.* 4, 495. Docent hoc etiam Pichena ad Tac. *Germ.* 29. Cuper. *Obs.* 1, 7. Proprie igitur Liv. 1, 43. *Arma his imperata galea, clipeum, ocreæ, lorica, omnia ex ære. Hæc ut tegumenta corporis essent. Tela in hostem, hastaque, et gladius.* Consentit Varro *de L. L.* 4, 24. p. 29, 24. *Arma ab arcendo, quod his arcemus hostem.* Festus: —'*Arma* proprie dicuntur ab armis, id est humeris, dependentia, ut scutum, gladius, pugio, sica; ut ea, quibus procul prœliamur, *tela*.' Sed hoc non esse perpetuum, satis docet Caius in *L. Armorum: D. de Verb. et Rer. Signif., Armorum appellatio non utique tantum scuta, et gladios, et galeas significat, sed et fustes et lapides.* Quin ipse Cic. *pro Cæcina* 60. c. 21." Gesner.

[1] *Disponere diem.* "Lucian. 1, 682. *Ὡς, οὐδ' ὁδῷ βαδίζων ἀμελής ἐστι τῶν Μουσῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς καλὸν τὴν ἐν τῷ περιπάτῳ διατίθεται σχολήν.* Notent tirones hanc phrasin; nam est ex rarioribus: 3, 56. *Καί μοι δοκεῖτε εἰς καλὸν διατεθήσεσθαι τὴν διατριβὴν*, Heliod. p. 96. Cor. *Διατιθεμένῳ τὴν σχολήν.* Sic bene Editor; vulgo enim articulus perperam deest. Idem p. 198. *Καὶ ἡμῶν ἔστιν ὅτε τὴν σχολὴν διατιθεμένων.* Longus p. 40. Vill. *Διαθέσθαι τὸν τρυγητὸν ἐν ξενικῇ*

ctem, fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare; quodque rarissimum, nec nisi ratione disciplinæ concessum, plus reponere in duce, quàm in exercitu. Omne robur in pedite, quem super arma ferramentis quoque et copiis onerant. Alios ad prœlium[1] ire videas, Chattos ad bellum: rari excursus et fortuita pugna. Equestrium sanè virium id proprium, citò parare victoriam, citò cedere: velocitas juxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiæ est.

τέρψει θελήσαντες." Schæf. *Meletem. Cr.* p. 24. 87. appended to his Edition of Dionysius H. *de Comp. VV.* "Plin. *Ep.* 11, 36, 1. ibique Cort." Longol.

[1] *Prœlium, bellum, pugna.* "Locum interpretibus, quantum video, intactum, sic exponendum censeo, Ceteros *prœliari* tantum, sed Cattos cum ratione ac disciplina Romanæ pari *bellum* tractare: Sallust. Jug. 54, 5. *Statuit non prœliis, neque acie, sed alio more bellum gerundum*, 97, 5. *Pugna latrociniis magis, quam prœlio similis fieri:* Lucilius in Edit. Douzæ p. 65. ex Nonio, *Ut populus Romanus victus vi, et superatus prœliis Sæpe est multis; bello vero nunquam, in quo sunt omnia:* imitatus Livius 9, 18. *Quod P. R. etsi nullo bello, multis tamen prœliis victus sit*, 19. *Uno prœlio victus Alexander, bello victus esset:* Tacit. *Ann.* 2, 88. *Prœliis ambiguus, bello non victus* (Arminius:) 12, 39. *Crebra hinc prœlia, et sæpius in modum latrocinii—et* (Ostorium) *si non prœlium, at certe bellum absumsisset: Hist.* 2, 40. pr. *Non ut ad pugnam, sed ad bellandum profecti:* mavult hic Grotius *ad debellandum*, sed vulgatam defendit cohærentia, et ducum militumque voluntas, poscentium, ut et imperator ante adesset, et auxilia expectarentur: Liv. 4, 19. *Inter prœlium ad Castra R. pugnatum est:* Justin. *Hist.* 5. c. ult. n. 8. *Cum in bello fors prœlii utrumque fratrem pugnæ obtulisset.*" Gul. Ott. Reitzii *Specimen Pseudo-Synonymorum*, inserted in the *Misc. Obs. in Auctt. vett. et recentiores*, V. x. T. 1. p. 131. "*Prœlium, bellum, pugna,* et *rixa: prœlium* turmæ et exercitus, dictum a *prole* juvenum: quare ergo gladiatores dicimus bene prœliatos, quia etiam noxæ virtuti honestius nomen imponimus: *bellum* per antiphrasin dicimus, quod minime fit bellum, et multa habeat prœlia: *pugna* certamen est, cum duorum *rixa* humilius et seditionis est." Remi Palemonis *Differentiæ Sermonum* in *Misc. Obs.* T. ix. p. 986. "*Bellum* est omne militiæ tempus, *prœlium* vero certamen, quod fit in bello, *Ann.* 2, 88. 12, 39. *Hist.* 2, 10. Liv. 30, 35. *Pugna* vero est lucta, Donat. ad Terent. *Adelph.* 2, 1, 17. Festus voce *Pugnus*, i. manus contracta. Reitz. (l. c.) Sil. 6.

31. Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum rarâ et privatâ cujusque audentiâ, apud Chattos in consensum vertit; ut primùm adoleverint, crinem barbamque summittere, nec nisi hoste cæso, exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti oris habitum. Super sanguinem et spolia, revelant frontem, seque tum demum pretia nascendi retulisse, dignosque patriâ ac parentibus ferunt. Ignavis et imbellibus manet squalor. Fortissimus quisque ferreum insuper annulum, ignominiosum id genti, velut vinculum gestat, donec se cæde hostis absolvat. Plurimis Chattorum hic placet habitus; jamque canent[1] insignes, et hostibus simul suisque monstrati. Omnium penes hos initia pugnarum; hæc prima semper acies, visu nova.[2] Nam ne in

208. Plin. 6, 13, 6. ibique Cort." Longol.

[1] *Jamque canent.* "Hæc verba plurimis virorum doctorum, Gronovii, N. Heinsii, Ernestii, Bipontinorum, sollicitata sunt conjecturis, quas referre piget. Mihi difficilius videtur locum non intelligere, quem emendationes Gronovii et Ernestii recte explicant. Quamvis jam senes facti, ne ita quidem recusant, crinem barbamque summittere, annulum gestare, suorumque et hostium oculos in se convertere. Nihil nec aptius, nec planius." Passow. "I. nonnulli hoc insigne, nempe ferreum annulum, gestantes retinent neque deponunt, usque dum cani, i. senes, fiant." Longol. But the question is not about the meaning, which is obvious, but about the reading, which affects the construction of the sentence. Supposing the reading *jamque* to be correct, it can be translated only by the words *And even*, 'They even grow hoary under the mark;' and there happens to be no authority for such an interpretation of *jam*—certainly the Lexicons of Forcellinus and Gesner, and the Work of Tursellinus *on the Particles*, exhibit no instance, where *jam* has this sense, unaccompanied with *cum, tum, inde, usque* etc. The passage then must be deemed corrupt, and the corruption must be removed by the gentlest method. Brotier proposes *namque*, which is unobjectionable in respect to the sense, and defensible in respect to the alteration, because Gesner admits the confusion of Mss. between *jam* and *nam*. Ernesti reads *itaque*:—"Et ita, hoc squalore, hoc oris habitu, insignes ad canitiem manent, etiam canentes videre licet. *Itaque* et *jamque* confundi in libris docet Drakenb. ad Liv. 7, 40." And I am inclined to adopt Ern.'s reading, because *ita* seems necessary to be joined with *insignes*.

[2] *Visu nova.* I must confess that I once thought the present reading to be corrupt; I was

pace quidem[1] vultu mitiore[2] mansuescunt. Nulli domus,

struck with the agreement of *torva* with the *vultu mitiore* in the subsequent sentence; and I felt the force of the objection of both Gronovius, and Freinshemius, to the common reading of *nova*, that it contradicts the precedent words, *hostibus simul, suisque monstrati*. However, this confession may teach an important lesson to the youthful critic never to adopt alterations of the text but with the greatest caution, and upon the maturest deliberation: I have, in the course of my reading, marked a thousand errors and corruptions, which I now find to have existed only in my own imagination; I indulged myself in conjectures; I congratulated myself upon the thoughts of my discoveries; I exclaimed with Archimedes, *εὕρηκα, εὕρηκα,* but, scarcely had a few weeks elapsed, before I sat down by the waters of the Cam in sackcloth and ashes. Ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰς μὲν ἅπαξ, καὶ βραχὺν χρόνον ἀντέχει, καὶ σφόδρα γε ἤνθησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἂν τύχῃ· τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ φωρᾶται, καὶ παρ' αὐτὰ καταῤῥεῖ. But I must hasten to state to the reader the grounds of my conviction. We read in ch. 43.—"*Ceterum Arii, super vires, quibus enumeratos paulo ante populos antecedunt, truces, insitæ feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur: nigra scuta, tincta corpora; atras ad prœlia noctes legunt; ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum aspectum; nam primi in omnibus prœliis oculi vincuntur.*" Here the words, *novum ac velut infernum aspectum*, correspond to the words, *nova visu*, in the other passage. But *novum* cannot here signify *new;* for we are to understand this as a *regular custom* among the Arii, and after they had made the experiment once, the novelty of it would have ceased. The meaning of *novum* here is determined by its being coupled with *infernum*, and by the context, *ipsa formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt*. We are told that Pyrrhus, in his war with the Romans, employed elephants, an animal, to which the Romans were before that time strangers: now a historian might, in the first relation of this fact, very properly call the elephants a *novus aspectus;* but he might also, with propriety, in the detail of subsequent engagements, say that they were a *novus aspectus*, because, though there was no novelty from the frequent repetition of the artifice, yet it was *a singular and tremendous spectacle*. This is the meaning of *novus* in these two passages. Hence Tac. is not, as Gron. and Freinsh. have supposed, made to contradict the precedent words—*hostibus simul suisque monstrati;* and hence the difficulty of connecting *nova* with the subsequent words vanishes. Gordon has translated the passage with considerable spirit:—"By them in all engagements the first assault is made; of them the front of the battle is always composed, *as men, who in their*

aut ager, aut aliqua cura: prout ad quemque venêre, alun-

looks are singular and tremendous." Dr. Aikin translates it thus—" By these, in every engagement, the attack is begun: they compose the front line, presenting *a new spectacle* of terror." Yet he seems in ch. 43. to have perceived the force of *novus*, which he thus translates " They strike terror by the funereal gloom of their sable bands—no enemy being able to sustain *their singular*, and as it were, infernal appearance."

[1] *Nam ne in pace quidem.* The only difficulty, which now remains, is to ascertain the use of *nam*, which Brotier considers as redundant in this passage; but it is no more redundant in Latin, than it is in Greek: it always refers to something either expressed, or implied, as Clarke upon *Iliad*, A. 22. has seen: "Istud γὰρ, non refertur ad id, quod proxime præcessit, sed ad id, quod eleganter reticetur:" this is a rule, which should be constantly pressed upon the attention of the classical student; who should never be allowed to translate γὰρ, or *nam*, where it refers to a sentence understood, except when he supplies the ellipse. The ellipse in this passage of Tacitus is *nec mirum:* Hæc *prima semper acies, visu nova;* [*nec mirum;*] *nam ne in pace quidem vultu mitiore mansuescunt:* ' It is no wonder,' says Tacitus, ' that these Chatti presented such a tremendous spectacle to their enemies in the field of battle, when it was the great object of their lives, even in the time of peace, to give to themselves the wildest appearance.' In the following passage from Tac. *Dial. de Oratt.* 19. the ellipse is supplied, *Si quis, odoratus philosophiam, ex ea locum aliquem orationi suæ insereret, in cœlum laudibus ferebatur: nec mirum; erant enim hæc nova et incognita:* thus also Lucr. 2, 333. " Nunc age, jam deinceps cunctarum exordia rerum, Qualia sint, et quam longe distantia formis, Percipe, multigenis quam sint variata figuris; Non quod multa parum simili sint prædita forma, Sed quia non volgo paria omnibus omnia constant. *Nec mirum; nam* cum sit eorum copia tanta, Ut neque finis, uti docui, neque summa sit ulla: Debent nimirum non omnibus omnia prorsum Esse pari filo, similique adfecta figura." Cic. *de Amic.* 9. *Ab iis, qui pecudum ritu, ad voluptatem omnia referunt, longe dissentiunt: nec mirum; nihil enim altum, nihil magnificum, ac divinum suscipere possunt, qui suas omnes cogitationes abjecerunt in rem tam humilem tamque contemptam.*

[2] *Vultu mitiore.* "*Cultu*, Cod. Arund. Vienn.: placuit Pichenæ, et præstat fortasse vulgatæ, cujus difficultates senserat Ern., *in vultum mitiorem mansuescunt*, proponens. Si tamen vera est lectio vulgata, *vultu mitiore mansuescunt*, Græcorum more dictum est præsumptione rei posterius exprimendæ: v. Hermann. ad Eur. *Suppl.* 1030. Schæf. ad Greg. Cor. 533. et ad

tur: prodigi alieni, contemptores suî, donec exsanguis senectus tam duræ virtuti impares faciat.

32. Proximi Chattis certum jam alveo Rhenum, quique terminus esse sufficiat, Usipii ac Tencteri colunt. Tencteri super solitum bellorum decus, equestris disciplinæ arte præcellunt. Nec major apud Chattos peditum laus, quàm Tencteris equitum. Sic instituêre majores, posteri imitantur: hi lusus infantium, hæc juvenum æmulatio, perseverant senes. Inter familiam, et penates, et jura successionum, equi traduntur: excipit filius, non, ut cetera, maximus natu, sed prout ferox bello et melior.

33. Juxta Tencteros Bructeri olim occurrebant: nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios immigrasse narratur, pulsis Bructeris ac penitus excisis, vicinarum consensu nationum, seu superbiæ odio, seu prædæ dulcedine, seu favore quodam erga nos deorum. Nam ne spectaculo quidem prœlii invidêre:[1] super LX millia, non armis telisque Romanis,

Soph. *Œd. T.* 57. Lobeck. ad Soph. *Aj.* p. 299. Seidler. ad Eur. *El.* 442. Gierig. ad Ovid. *Met.* 1, 32. 303. Wunderl. ad Tibull. 1, 3, 51." Passow.

[1] *Invidêre.* "*Ne hostes quidem sepulturæ invident: sepultura* scripti constanter, cur moverunt? est enim Latine, si quid aliud dictum, *invidere sepultura mortuis:* ne dubitare possis, audi Lucan. 7, 799. *Invidet igne rogi miseris:* Plin. in *Epistolis* passim, ubi veterrimus Codex Mediceus huic loquendi modo suffragatur: Quinctil. IX. 3, dicit Ciceronem solere dicere *invideo hanc rem,* non *huic rei,* sed forte leg. *hac re:* vide de h. l. disputantem Voss. *de Constructione* c. 34.: Noster *Ann.* XV. 63. *Tu mortis decus mavis, non invidebo exemplo,* h. e. non invidebo tibi meo exemplo: *Germ.* 33. *Nam ne spectaculo quidem prœlii invidere,* subauditur *nobis.*" N. Heins. *Animadv. ad Tac. Ann.* 1, 20., inserted in the *Misc. Obs. in Auctt. vett. et recentiores,* V. IX. T. II. p. 287. J. M. Gesner has the following Note on the passage of Quinctilian:—"*Verborum vero figuræ, et mutatæ sunt semper, et utcunque valuit consuetudo, mutantur; itaque si antiquorum sermonem nostro comparemus, pene jam, quidquid loquimur, figura est, ut* hac re invidere, *non ut omnes veteres, et Cicero præcipue* hanc rem. Non dubitavi recipere lectionem bonorum librorum, quam firmant loca plura Plinii ex Mediceo Codice laudata hic a Burm. et a Cortio ad ipsius Plinii *Ep.* 1, 10. extr.: notabilis præsertim 2, 10, 1. *Quousque et tibi, et nobis invidebis, tibi maxima laude,*

sed, quod magnificentius est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt. Maneat quæso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostrî, at certè odium suî: quando in urgentibus imperii fatis,[1] nihil jam præstare fortuna majus potest, quàm hostium discordiam.

nobis voluptate: sed Plinii loca vulgo corrupta fuerant: in poëtam non tantum licuit: Lucan. 7, 798. *Invidet igne rogi miseris:* adde Plin. Maj. 4, 32. s. 50. *Sed et hi* (cervi) *bono suo invident*, quod recte interpretatur Harduin. *bonum suum nobis invident:* confirmat porro lectionem, quam dedimus, Fl. Caper pr. libelli *de Orthogr.*. 2239 Putsch., ubi veteres dixisse ait, *invideo tibi divitias, non divitiis:* indicat nempe, posterius sua ætate usitatum fuisse: ceterum etiam genitivo rei, qui adfinis admodum ablativo est, jungi h. v., ostendit Horatii locus mox laudandus s. 17. [*Nec longæ invidit arenæ, Sat.* 2, 6, 83.]: quod autem est de versiculo Accii, quem profert Cic. *Tusc.* 3, 9. *Quisnam florem liberûm invidit meûm?* ubi diserte subjicit, *ut* videre, *sic* invidere florem *rectius quam* flori; *nos consuetudine prohibemur; poëta jus suum tenuit, et dixit audacius:* vereor, ut optimum Grammaticum hic egerit Tullius: potuit quidem dixisse Accius, *Quis invidet florem liberûm meorum;* et tamen intelligere *mihi:* sed suspicor tamen Accium hic posuisse *invidere* pro intuendo et oculorum conjectu diro fascinare. *Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos:* quantum quidem exemplis certis constat, hoc verbum, cum angi alienis malis significat, dativum personæ, cujus bona alium angunt, semper habet; res, cujus causa, propter quam, vel de qua invident alii, obliquis reliquis exprimitur; dativo tum demum, cum pro persona adjunctum illius ponitur, ea ratione, qua *gratulari alterius felicitati* dicimus, pro *alteri felicitatem:* ita commodissime componi nobis videbantur, quæ moventur a Vossio *de Constr.* 34. a Scioppio et Perizonio ad Sanctii *Minerv.* 3, 3, 8, atque a Gronovio ad Tac. *Ann.* 1, 22, ubi leg. ex veteri libro jam Gruter. censuit, *Ne hostes quidem sepultura invident.*" As to the sense, compare Justin. 13, 3. *Edituros deinde egregium hostibus suis spectaculum, ut quorum armis victos se doleant, eorum mutuis cædibus gaudeant, parentaturosque sanguine suo manibus hostium a se interfectorum.*

[1] *Urgentibus.* "Illustr. Huet. mallet *vigentibus imperii fatis,*" [and so the French translator, Bl.] "quod hæc scriberet Tac., cum imperium Rom. Trajano Principe, vigebat: forte tamen Tac. dixit *urgentibus*, quod mole sua diuturnioreque fortuna jam labaret imperium: sic ferme Liv. 5, 36. *Jam urgentibus Romanam urbem fatis.*" Brotier. Thus too Liv. 5, 22. *Veii fatis urgentibus, denique capti.* "Vide Duker. ad Liv. 22, 43. et similiter centies alii. Itaque nihil mutan-

34. Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgibini, et Chasuari cludunt, aliæque gentes haud perinde memoratæ. A fronte Frisii excipiunt. Majoribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum est ex modo virium: utræque nationes usque ad Oceanum Rheno prætexuntur, ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus, et Romanis classibus navigatos. Ipsum quin etiam Oceanum illà tentavimus: et superesse adhuc Herculis columnas, fama vulgavit: sive adiit Hercules, seu, quidquid ubique magnificum est, in claritatem ejus referre consensimus. Nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico: sed obstitit Oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. Mox nemo tentavit: sanctiusque ac reverentius visum, de actis deorum credere, quàm scire.

35. Hactenus in Occidentem Germaniam novimus. In Septentrionem ingenti flexu redit. Ac primò statim Chaucorum gens, quanquam incipiat a Frisiis, ac partem littoris occupet, omnium, quas exposui, gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Chattos usque sinuetur. Tam immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantùm Chauci, sed et implent: populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit justitiâ tueri: sine cupiditate, sine impotentiâ, quieti secretique, nulla provocant

dum puto." Ern. "As this Treatise was written in the time of Trajan, when the affairs of the Romans appeared unusually prosperous, some critics have imagined that Tac. wrote *vigentibus* instead of *urgentibus*: but it is sufficiently evident, from other passages, that the causes, which were operating gradually, but surely, to the destruction of the Roman empire, did not escape the penetration of Tacitus, even when disguised by the most flattering appearances: the common reading is, therefore, probably, right." Dr. Aikin. "Votum ipsum auctoris sollicitudinem prodit, ex urgentium imperii fatorum contemplatione prognatam." Oberlin. "Digitum intendit auctor ad c. 37." Longol. If we retain *urgentibus*, should we not substitute *melius* for *majus?* If we adopt *vigentibus*, we must retain *majus*. *Melius* implies that the condition of a thing is *ameliorated*, or changed from a bad to a better state; and *majus*, that the condition of a thing is *improved*, or advanced from a good to a better state: hence *melius* is the proper expression in this passage. I may observe, to confirm my opinion, that *majus* and *melius* are, as we are told in Gesner's *Thesaurus*, often confounded in the Mss.

bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur: id præcipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quòd, ut superiores agant, non per injurias assequuntur. Prompta tamen omnibus arma, ac, si res poscat exercitus, plurimum virorum equorumque: et quiescentibus eadem fama.

36. In latere Chaucorum Chattorumque, Cherusci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem illacessiti nutrierunt: idque jucundius, quàm tutius fuit; quia inter impotentes et validos falsò quiescas: ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superioris sunt.[1] Ita qui olim boni æqui-

[1] *Quia—superioris sunt.* "Cur in iis corruptum esse aliquid dixerim, si rogas, ex me faxo ut scias, ubi prius a te petiero ecquid intelligas, quid sibi illa velint, *modestia——sunt:* scio quid de *nominibus* dici possit, cum pro *debitis* aut *debitoribus* sumantur; quid aliud habeas, non video: sed illa explicatio huic certe loco absona est; at vide, quæso, annon scripserit Tac. *modestia et probitas nomina sequioris sunt,* i. e. *deterioris, inferioris;* ea enim hujus vocis significatio est. Conjecturam hanc exponerem fusius, ni satis esse existimarem ea addere, quæ mox apud Tac. sequuntur, quibus id, quod dixi modo, plane confirmatur; subnectit enim *ita qui olim* boni æquique *Cherusci, nunc* inertes et stulti *vocantur:* vides Tac. sibi ipsi interpretem esse, *boni* vocantur *inertes, modesti stultorum nomen ferunt:* itaque *probitas nomen sequioris est.*" *Epistolæ criticæ* Tanaquilli Fabri p. 74. The adjective *sequior* seems to have been much used by the later Writers, which so far favours the introduction of it into this place: Gesner in his *Thes.* cites the following passages:—"Apul. *Met.* 7. p. 191, 8, *Sumta veste muliebri florida—et in sequiorem sexum insertus atque absconditus,* 10. p. 249. *Mandavit uxori suæ—ut si sexus sequioris edidisset fetum, protinus quod esset editum, necaretur,* Ammian. Marc. 18, 6. p. 215. Gron. *Ut si Persæ frustra habiti redissent ad sua, ducis novi virtuti facinus assignaretur egregium; si fortuna sequior ingruisset, Ursicinus reus proditor reip. deferretur:* laudatur etiam Juret. ad Symmach. 10, 49." "*Nomine superioris,* Spir. Nor. Mon.: *nomine superiores,* Cod. Turic. In varias sententias discesserunt: mihi, quæ hucusque in impressis obtinuit scriptura, unice vera videtur. Cherusci, dum superiores agebant, justi æquique vocati, jam sequiores facti inertes stultique, Chatti victores sapientes habentur. Et ita accidere solet, ubi manu agitur, ubi cuncta vi belloque discernuntur: apud hos modesti probique nomen de victore tantum poterit adhiberi, quum infirmiores contrarium esse nequeant." Passow.

que Cherusci, nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur: Chattis victoribus fortuna in sapientiam cessit. Tacti ruinâ[1] Cheruscorum et Fosi, contermina gens, adversarum rerum ex æquo socii sunt, quùm in secundis minores fuissent.

37. Eundem Germaniæ sinum[2] proximi Oceano Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloriâ ingens: veterisque famæ latè vestigia manent, utrâque ripâ castra ac spatia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris molem manusque gentis, et tam magni exercitûs fidem. Sexcentesimum et quadragesimum annum Urbs nostra agebat, quùm primùm Cimbrorum audita sunt arma, Cæcilio Metello ac Papirio Carbone consulibus. Ex quo si ad alterum Imperatoris Trajani consulatum computemus, ducenti fermè et decem anni colliguntur: tamdiu Germania vincitur. Medio tam longi ævi spatio multa invicem damna. Non Samnis, non Pœni, non Hispaniæ Galliæve, ne Par-

[1] *Tracti ruina.* "*Tacti ruina*, Codd. Mss. et Edd. vett. *Chatti ruina*, sine sensu Turic.: *tracti ruina*, Hummel., quod conjectura assecutus erat Pichena, prob. Burm. ad Lucan. 7, 655. Ern. Bip. Oberl. Bred.: Gruterus librorum scripturam ita tuetur, ut a fulmine repetat explicationem, cui refragatur additum *ruina*. Rectius hæc de *contagio* quasi dicta accepit Longol., laudans Cort. ad Sallust. *Cat.* 10, 6. Cheruscorum ruina attigit Fosos, eos secum præcipites dedit, eodem fere sensu, sed exquisitius insolentiusque ad verba." Passow. But the reading *tacti ruina* not only introduces a confusion of metaphors, but is not confirmed by any passages in other Writers, whereas *trahere ruinam* is a legitimate phrase. "*Ruinam trahere*, i. q. dare, facere, Virg. *Æn.* 2, 465. *turris lapsa repente ruinam Cum sonitu trahit*, 631. 8, 192. 9, 712." Forcellin. So Ovid *Met.* 8, 498. *Spemque patris regnique trahat, patriæque ruinam.* Tac. *Hist.* 3, 29. *Ruina traxit pinnas*, *Ann.* 3, 54. *Remp. funditus trahet*, "sc. *in ruinam*," Gesner.

[2] *Sinum.* Brotier reads with Ernesti, and some Mss., *situm*, and says: "Hic non agitur de *sinu*, sed de *eodem Germaniæ situ*, nempe in Septentrionali parte." Oberlin reads *sinum*, and observes: "Et verbum est aptius, et *sinum Germaniæ* dicere Noster commode potest, *Germaniam in Septentrionem ingenti flexu redeuntem*, ut habet c. 35." Longolius shrewdly adds, "An Latine dici potest *situm tenere*, vehementer dubito." Certainly Gesner and Forcellinus furnish nothing to justify the phrase *situm tenere*.

:hi quidem sæpiùs admonuere:[1] quippe regno Arsacis

[1] *Admonuere.* "*Admonere*, ut Non. Marcellus notat, interdum idem valet, quod coërcere et castigare: sic Virg. *Æn.* 10, 586. *Pronus pendens in verbera, telo Admonuit bijugos.* Colum. 2, 2. *flagello admonere*, quemadmodum *admonere verberibus*, Senec. *de Clem.* 1, 14.: quomodo etiam in Val. Max. 1, 1, 6. leg. putat Brisson., ubi *admoveretur* pro *admoneretur* in quibusdam Codd. legitur: sic et *verbere moneri* Tac. *Ann.* 5, 9.: quæ in verbo ludens Plaut. *Stich.* 1, 2, 6. *Vos monimentis commonefaciam bubulis.* Ea vero locutio a Græcis ducta est, qui in eadem sententia utuntur verbo νουθετεῖν: Aristoph. Σφ. κονδυλοῖς νουθέτησεν ἡμᾶς, *Flagris nos admonuit*:" ['νουθετεῖν πληγαῖς, *verberibus cædere*, Plato *de LL.*' Constantine's *Lex.*] "Utuntur illa locutione et juris auctores in *l.* v. sect. 1. D. *de agnosc. et al.* lib. *Pigrescentes artus* (animalium publicorum) *innocuo titillo poterit admonere, l.* II. *C. Th. de cursu publ.*" Vicat's *Vocabularium Juris utriusque.* Again under *Admonitio*:—"Est et castigatio et coërcitio: ut *admonitio fustium* in *l.* VII. *D. de pœn.*, *admonitione notare*, Suet. *Aug.* 39. ubi hæc adduntur verba, *Lenissimum genus admonitionis fuit traditio coram pugillarium quos taciti, et ibidem statim legerent*: ibi autem *admonitio* intelligitur, quæ verbis fieret." Seneca *de Const. Sap.* 12. *Malo pœnaque aliquem admonere et afficere*, which is very like the metaphorical use of the word in the passage of Tac. *Ne Parthi quidem sæpius admonuere.* Faber, in his *Thesaurus Eruditionis Scholasticæ*, quotes the passage of Tac., and adds:—"Significat nec ceteras gentes, quas nominat, nec ipsos Parthos, sæpius infestasse Romanum nomen, et percussisse veluti, et suæ virtutis admonuisse: nihil enim mutandum est, ut visum nonnullis, quod et Pichena rectissime monuit. Senec. *de Clem.*, 14.: Ita etiam *objurgare* ponitur: vide *Moneo* n. 2." Again, "*Monere* etiam pro *castigare* ponitur Stat. *Silv.* 3, 160. *Tonitru tantum lenique procella Contentus monuisse.* Ita *hortari quem verbere*, dicere licet: nam *hortamen verberis* Palladius dixit 4, 11." [thus Nemesian *Cyneg.* 267., *Verbera sunt præcepta fugæ, sunt verbera freni*:] "similiter *stimulo increpare*, Tibull. 1, 1, 12. et *flagro quem objurgare*, Suet. *Oth.* 2. dixit." Gesner in his *Thes.* says, "*Admonere flagello* pro *stimulare, instigare, sive id percussu fiat, sive sola flagelli concussione*," cites the passage of Tac., and adds, "sc. *Romanos cladibus, tanquam flagello, ut vinci se quoque posse intelligerent.*" Oberlin refers to "Colum. 2, 2. Curt. 4, 14, 20. Liv. 2, 36." Brotier, however, erroneously understands the word with Lipsius in another sense:—"Optime dictum, *admonuere belli et periculi*: h. sensu *admonere, donner l'alarme*, dicimus: nonnullis tamen placet, *admovere*, ut est in Ms. Turic. id

acrior est Germanorum libertas. Quid enim aliud nobis, quàm cædem Crassi, amisso et ipso Pacoro, infra Ventidium dejectus Oriens objecerit? At Germani Carbone, et Cassio, et Scauro Aurelio, et Servilio Cæpione, Cn. quoque Manlio fusis, vel captis, quinque simul consulares exercitus populo Romano, Varum tresque cum eo legio-

est *admovere exercitum.*" "*Admonuere*, sc. *cladibus*. Sic admonere *telo*, Virg. *Æn.* 10, 587. *verberibus*, Seneca *de Clem.* 1, 14. *flagro*, Val. Max. 1, 1, 6. Eodem sensu *objurgare flagris*, Suet. *Oth.* 2. *ferulis*, *Calig.* 20. Apage igitur *admovere* sc. *exercitum*, plane contortum ad explicandum, uti illud *admonere* visum est Ern., cui præfert *admovere.*" Longol. "*Admonitio fustium—admonere*, et *admonitio*, non simpliciter est verberare, et verberatio, ut Nonius ait in *Admonere*, et alii perperam secuti sunt, abusi v. 586. ex Virg. *Æn.* x.; nam ibi est *telo admonere*, et sine verbo nuspiam, passim autem *monere*, vel *admonere flagris*, *flagellis*, *verbere*, *verberibus*, quales locutiones in auctoribus alii observarunt, omisso Senecæ loco *Epist.* 47. *Rectissime ergo te facere judico, quod timeri a servis tuis non vis, quod verborum castigatione uteris: verberibus multa admonentur*: vel potius *muta*, ut recte, si quid judico, ibi legit Lips., nisi præferamus *bruta*: ceteroquin *verba* et *verbera* sæpe in Mss. confundantur, commodum legeretur, *verbis multa admonentur.* Etiam *objurgare* in hanc sententiam usurpant cum alii, aliis dicti, tum Seneca *de Ira*, 3, 12. *Verberibus objurgare*, et Petron. *Satyr.* 34. *colaphis objurgare*, et Pers. *Sat.* 5, 169. *Solea, puer, objurgabere rubra.*" C. Van Bynkershoek's *Obs. Juris Rom.* 1, 21. p. 85. Edn. 3d. Lug. B. 1752. *Admonere* has the same sense in Virg. *Æn.* 4, 353., (though the Commentators have not perceived it,) as is evident from the remainder of the line, in which it occurs: *Me patris Anchisæ, quoties humentibus umbris Nox operit terras, quoties astra ignea surgunt, Admonet in somnis, et turbida terret imago. Admonet*, i. e. *flagello*; for the Furies came with a *whip* in their hands. Suet. *Ner.* 34. *Neque tamen sceleris conscientiam, quanquam et militum et senatus populique gratulationibus confirmaretur, aut statim aut unquam pro ea ferre potuit: sæpe confessus exagitari se materna specie, verberibus Furiarum, ac tædis ardentibus.* Quintil. *Decl.* 12. *Quoties facta reputavi, flagella mentis sonant, ultrices video Furias, et in quamcunque me partem converti, occurrunt umbræ meorum.* Juv. 13, 192. *cur tamen hos tu Evasisse putes, quos diri conscia facti Mens habet attonitos, et surdo verbere cædit, Occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum?* I would translate the passage of Tac. thus—"Not even the Parthian oftener threatened a blow at the State."

nes etiam Cæsari abstulerunt. Nec impunè C. Marius in Italiâ, divus Julius in Galliâ, Drusus ac Nerò et Germanicus in suis eos sedibus perculerunt. Mox ingentes C. Cæsaris minæ in ludibrium versæ. Inde otium, donec occasione discordiæ nostræ et civilium armorum, expugnatis legionum hibernis, etiam Gallias affectavere:[1] ac rur-

[1] *Affectavere.* Gordon, "They aimed at the dominion of Gaul;" Dr. Aikin, "They forced the winter-quarters of the legions, and even aimed at the possession of Gaul;" Murphy, "They stormed our legions in their winter-quarters, and even planned the conquest of Gaul." We do not find that Civilis, the Batavian chief, who planned the revolt, to which Tac. here alludes, ever entertained this intention; but we are informed by Tac., who has given a complete account of this revolt (in *Hist.* 4.) that Civilis used great address to persuade the Gauls and the adjacent States to join in the revolt, 17. *Galliarum societatem Civilis arte donisque affectabat*, 66. *Civilis societate Agrippinensium auctus, proximas civitates affectare, aut adversantibus bellum inferre statuit.* Gesner observes that *affectare* is sometimes used in the sense of *sollicitare:* he quotes two or three instances of this use: Sall. *Jug.* 66. *civitates affectare*, Tac. *Hist.* 4, 66.; Aur. Vict. *Cæs.* 39. 11. *affectare militarium nuptas*, i. e. *ad stuprum sollicitare*, 21, 3. *novercam conjugem:* this is the meaning of *affectare* in this passage. The original meaning of the word is, as Gesner and Dumesnil suggest, *cum affectu ad rem aliquam contendere*, Tacit. *earnestly to seek after a thing;* and all its significations are easily deduced from this primary meaning. Dr. Hill, in his *Latin Synonyms:*—"This verb, signifying literally 'to make keenly at,' carries in it all the zeal ordinarily involved in a frequentative, and besides intimates, by means of *ad*, that this zeal is exerted for behoof of the person possessing it." We must, in expressions of this kind, *regnum, famam, plausum affectare*, supply some verb, as we find in this instance from Sil. 4, 138. *Dum primæ decus affectat decerpere pugnæ.* Stat. *Theb.* 2, 539. *Affectare cruorem*, that is, *effundere*, as Gesner rightly suggests. Virg. *G.* 4, 562. *viamque affectat Olympo*, Ter. *Phorm.* 5, 8, 71. *Hi gladiatorio animo ad me affectant viam*, Cic. *pro Rosc. Amer.* 48. *Nunc vero quam viam munitet, quod iter affectet, videtis:* we must also in these three instances supply a verb; and we may, by this principle, explain the disputed verse in Virg. *Æn.* 3, 670. *Verum ubi nulla datur dextram affectare potestas.* Heyne reads here with Markland, *dextra affectare;* but why should we not understand a verb after *dextram affectare?* "But when he found no opportunity of striving to seize

sus pulsi, inde proximis temporibus triumphati magis, quàm victi sunt.

38. Nunc de Suevis dicendum est, quorum non una, ut Chattorum Tencterorumve, gens: majorem enim Germaniæ partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quanquam in commune *Suevi* vocentur. Insigne gentis obliquare crinem, nodoque substringere. Sic Suevi a ceteris Germanis: sic Suevorum ingenui a servis separantur. In aliis gentibus, seu cognatione aliquâ Suevorum, seu, quod sæpe accidit, imitatione, rarum, et intra juventæ spatium; apud Suevos, usque ad caniciem, horrentem capillum retro sequuntur,[1] ac sæpe in ipso solo

the vessel with his right-hand, or of striving to throw his hand upon the vessel." "*Affectare dextram* est anxia quadam aviditate dextram injicere et cupide extendere." Forcellin.

[1] *Retro sequuntur.* "Libri omnes et Mss. et impressi. Locus est e difficillimis et fortasse corruptus; satis enim offendunt illa, *capillum retro sequi.* Varie igitur tentarunt verba: Jos. Scal., *retrosequus:* Th. Marcil., *retrorsum.* Sed utrumque pessumdat sensum. Solent capillum a tergo demittere: nonnulli colligunt quoque crines, eosque in vertice religant, quod cultum quendam exquisitiorem prodit. Melius igitur Bipontini, *retro comantur.*" [Oberlin. :—'Bip. mallent *retrorsum comantur.*' N. Heins. :—'Scal. ad Martial. legit *capillum retrosecus:* sic *altrinsecus* et alia ap. Apul., de quibus nos ad Ovid. *Met.* Sed et *solo* mendosum: *so* repetitum ex præcedente syllaba. Leg. *Raro resecantur, ac hunc sætæ pilo in ipso vertice religant.*'] "Melius quoque Seeb. *retro serunt.* Sed illud nimium quantum recedit a ductibus litterarum: hoc quin de capillis recte dicatur, adhuc dubito. Tollat velim scrupulum V. D. in Commentariis, quos promisit. Fateor tamen, mihi ne de necessitate quidem emendationis persuasum esse. Tac. ipse *Ann.* 3, 69. *sequi* usurpavit sensu verbi *indulgere, Adulationem longius sequitur.* Et *crinibus indulgere* recte de iis dixeris, qui alunt comam eaque promittenda gaudent. Certe contorte explicare, quam temere emendare malui." Passow. "*Capillum retro sequuntur*, sine sensu. Bene Scal., *retrosequus,* i. e. retrosecus; aut, quod quidem propius accederet ad lectionem vulgatam, *retrosequum,* si forma esset probata. Alii Suevorum retrosecus flexum crinem substringunt, alii vero in rectum, ut terreant, ornantur tanquam hostium oculis." Bredow. "*Sequuntur,* sic Mss. Longol. et Hummel. Est autem in phrasi, *horrentem capillum sequuntur,*

vertice ligant. Principes et ornatiorem habent: ea cura formæ, sed innoxiæ; neque enim ut ament amenturve;

anacoluthon constructionis, pro *capilli retro sequuntur.* Malim tamen interpretari, *capilli pone tergum junguntur.* Habent enim vett. etiam activum *sequo*, Priscian. 8. p. 40. 41. Gell. 18, 9. Perizon. ad Sanct. 3, 2. n. 3. p. 281." Longol. "*Secus* in vett. *Glossis* ἑτέρως, πλησίον. Nempe quia interdum notat *contra, aliter:* interdum *juxta, prope, secundum.* Nec dubito quin a posteriore acceptatione sit præpositio *secundum. Secus* ita usurpatum invenitur ap. Caton. 21. *Secus laminas.* Quo refellitur error Charisii, ita scribentis l. 1.: *Quod vulgus usurpat, secus illum sedi, hoc est, secundum illum, et novum et sordidum est.* Suntque ab hac notione composita ista *intrinsecus, extrinsecus, altrinsecus,* h. e. *secus interna, externa, alterum partem.* Similiter quoque una voce ap. Caton. scribendum *utrimquesecus,* hoc est, *ex utraque parte.* Pro quo et *utrinsecus* dicunt Apul. 9. et Solin. 16., quod ipsum reperire est in vett. *Glossis.* Similiter dicitur *postsecus,* quod in iisdem *Glossis* legitur. Uti et *insecus,* quod in iis exponitur εἰς ἐγγύς. Ab eodem quoque dicitur *retrosecus:* quo usus Tac. de Suevis loquens: *Apud Suevos usque ad caniciem, horrentem capillum retrosecus, ac sæpe in ipso solo vertice religant.* Ubi in vulgatis est *retro sequuntur,* unde Th. Marcil. *retrorsum* leg. putat; sed assentio Jos. Scaligero, qui *Diatriba in libellum de Spectaculis,* Martiali tributum, ita, uti dicebamus, emendat." G. J. Voss. Etym. L. L. 461. Gesner in his *Thes.* adopts the same reading, and refers to Vossius; and I too adopt it. The passage should be read thus: *Apud Suevos, usque ad caniciem, horrentem capillum retrosecus, ac sæpe in ipso solo vertice, ligant.* 'The hair was tied (in a knot) behind, and often (so drawn up from behind,) as to be visible on the very crown of the head,' as English Ladies often, taking their long hair from the back of the neck, carry it up to the top of the head, and fasten it with a comb. Whether the hair was tied *retrorsecus,* or *in vertice ipso,* one and the same verb *ligant* applies to both, and it is ridiculous to suppose that a concise and nervous Writer like Tac. should superfluously and feebly employ a double verb, *sequuntur* to express the former, and *ligant* to express the latter. Dr. Aikin:—"The Suevi, even till they are hoary, turn back their bristling locks, and often tie it only upon the top of the head." Gronov.:—"Si quid video, discrimen non est in numero nodorum, (ut placet Conringio,) sed in loco, ubi firmantur nodi, nempe aliis *retrosecus,* sive circa occiput, aliis *in vertice ipso.* Et *in vertice* autem et *retrorsecus* collecti et renodati vel religati capilli, *cirri;* non posterius tantum modo genus. *Cornua* autem nihil aliud sunt quam *nodi* capillorum et implicationes. Vide Salmas. ad Solin. 762(=535.)"

in altitudinem quandam et terrorem adituri bella compti, ut hostium oculis ornantur.

39. Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Suevorum Semnones memorant. Fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. Stato tempore in silvam, auguriis patrum et priscâ formidine sacram,[1] omnes ejusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt, cæsoque publicè homine celebrant barbari ritûs horrenda primordia. Est et alia luco reverentia. Nemo

[1] *Auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram.* "Admodum displicuit Ernestio judicii Ciceroniani, *Orat.* 20., nimis memori, ita ut totum hunc locum Tacito eximendum putaret, *Præf.* p. lxiii., aut certe verba, *religione*" [*auguriis*] "*patrum et prisca formidine!* Taciti ingenium a numeris sane poeticis minime abhorruisse, abunde docet initium statim *Annalium*: plures et integros versus et versuum partes particulasque ex omnibus Historici libris diligenter congessit Jo. Bainbanius Hamburgensis in Fabricii *Bibl. Lat.* 2, 389. ex ipso Cic., Sallustio, Livio, Catone, Muret. ad Cic. *Cat.* 1, 1. C. Barth. *Advers.* 11, 16. Cort. ad Sallust. *Cat.* 19, 5. Notissima sunt verba Dem. *de Cor.* 47. p. 275. Reisk. Τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον, δι' ὃν εἰς Ἐλάτειαν ἦλθε Φίλιππος. Plura vide ap. Longin. Proleg. ad Hephæst. *Man.* 138. Gaisf. et ap. Tayl. ad Dem. c. *Neær.* 1008. Reisk." Passow. "I will not say with Plato, the soule is an harmony, but harmonicall, and hath its nearest sympathie unto musicke. Thus some, whose temper of body agrees, and humours the constitution of their soules, are borne Poets, though indeed all are naturally inclined unto rhythme. This made Tacitus in the very first line of his story fall upon a verse, *Urbem Romanam in principio reges habuere;* and Cicero, the worst of Poets, but declayming for a Poet, falls in the very first sentence upon a perfect hexameter verse, *pro Archia Poëta: In qua me non inficior mediocriter esse.*" Sir T. Browne's *Religio Medici* p. 156. Ed. 1645. 12°. (It may be remarked that the sin is wrongly laid at Cicero's door; for that Oration cannot be considered as the composition of Cicero.) See Cæcilius Metellus in *the Classical Journal* T. 15. p. 181., 16. p. 334., 17. p. 349., 19. p. 328., 20. p. 345., 21. p. 278., 22. p. 171., 23. p. 43. 296. E. H. Barker's *Reply to* ΒΟΙΩΤΟΣ in No. 53. p. 130., Dorville's *Vannus* p. 600. Boissonade *ad* Aristæn. 1, 1. The Poetry of Cicero is vindicated from the censures of Juvenal and other Writers, (see *Class. Journ.* T. 9. p. 588.,) by E. H. B. *l. c.* p. 132. and in his *Ms. Commentary on the Reminiscences of Charles Butler.*

nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor[1] et potestatem numinis præ se ferens: si fortè prolapsus, attolli et insurgere haud licitum: per humum evolvuntur. Eóque omnis superstitio respicit, tanquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subjecta atque parentia. Adjicit auctoritatem fortuna Semnonum: centum pagis habitant; magnoque corpore efficitur, ut se Suevorum caput credant.

40. Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat, quod plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti, non per obsequium, sed prœliis et periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni[2] deinde, et Aviones, et Anglii, et Varini, et Eudoses, et Suardones, et Nuithones, fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur: nec quid-

[1] *Ut minor.* "Quid sit illud *minor,* neminem tam felicem fore arbitror, ut explicet plane, et sine periculo febriculosæ argutiæ: scr. puto, *Ut timorem ex potestate numinis præ se ferens.*" C. Crus. *Probab. Cr.* p. 33. "*Minor* nempe *viribus,* c. 36. Non est ergo, quod Crus. *timorem* emendet." Longol. "*Parvus:* hic requirimus explicationem Græcismi, quo *minor* pro *victus* ponitur, ut ἥττων ap. Græcos. Hor. Ep. 1, 10, 35. *minor in certamine longo.* Sed Lexicographi nostri Græcorum cum Latinis comparationem, quasi nihil ad rem pertineret, penitus neglexerunt, nec cognovisse videntur, quod de summorum virorum sententia in T. Hemsterhusii *Elogio* p. 43. diximus, *Latinam linguam Græcæ sic aptam et nexam esse, ut, qui alteram ab altera distrahat ac divellat, animi et corporis discidium inducere videatur: sed hic locus latius patet, quam ut paucis explicari possit.*" Ruhnken's *Præf. ad Schelleri Lex.* in Kidd's *Opusc. Ruhnk.* p. 20.

[2] *Reudigni &c.* "Jam conjecturam, quam super locum quendam Taciti concepi, tibi sistenda est. Cluver. in locandis Germaniæ populis sæpius non recte hariolatus est: fluvii plerumque, eorumque nomina verum illorum situm commonstrant: ita ad Werram, sive Visurgis dextrum latus Cherusci, juxta eos ad Alleram usque Fosi, post hos ad Albim usque Longobardi: infra eos et quidem ad *Avam* Lunebergicam, jam Ilmenaviam, *Aviones* colloco; qui iis autem junguntur *Reudingi,* debent hoc modo in ericetis Lunebergicis habitasse: suspicor ferme levissima mutatione *Heudingos* nominari debere: ita ab *heide,* ericeto, nomen haberent: utinam Ms. vetera huic conjecturæ faverent!" ['*Veudigni,* Cod. Longol. Nor.; *Deuringi* excogitavit Cluver.' Passow.] "Habesne inter criticos tuos, qui hic auxilio esse possint? Post Aviones Tac. subjungit Anglos et Warinos; hi ad Warnam colebant: illi altius in Holsatia: sed ita non nominavit eos, qui in vicinia vestra ad exitum Albis ejusque littus dextrum habitarunt: hos puto *Gambrivios* a trajectu fluvii

quam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Nerthum, [Hertham,] id est, Terram matrem, colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis, arbitrantur. Est in insulâ Oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contectum, attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali deam intelligit, vectamque bubus feminis multâ cum veneratione prosequitur. Læti tunc dies, festa loca, quæcunque adventu hospitioque di-

bria, vel *brügge*, et *Cham*, nomine adhuc reliquo in duabus Albis insulis, dictos : supra eos fuerint Marsi, ubi jam Ditmarsia, et supra hos Thuringi ad Sturiam, tum ad Egidoram, sive Dinam Dani Tacito ignoti : in Nortstrandiam quadrant Ptolemæi *Phiræsi*, et in insulis, Heiligelandia aliisque jam deperditis, erant Saxones, hoc nomen paulo ante Ptolemæi tempora adepti, idemque vicinis communicantes deinde : sed ad littus Balthici maris si respicias, iterum non parvum inter Anglos et Warinos spatium vacat, quod Wagriam et vicina complectitur : hic ego *parvam Cimbrorum civitatem*, veterum Cimbrorum reliquias, Tacito memoratam repono : Cimbrorum autem nomen cum a Gallis inditum *socium* designet, et Plut. prodat sua lingua Cimbros *latrones* dictos, inde ego conjicio vere eos dictos fuisse *Uracos*, sive protractius *Varegos*, vel *Wargos : Wargus* autem Theotisce, et *Wræc* Anglo-Saxonice est *latro, exul, ein avanturier, pyrata :* hinc mare Balthicum Russi, veteris nominis tenaces, *mare Waregicum* adhuc vocant, et *Wagriæ* vox inde corrupta restat : uti autem ex *Varegus* factum est tandem *Warengus*, et *Warangus*, ita et ex *Uracus* prodiisse credo *Francus :* Francosque postea notos a Cimbris originem et appellationem hanc habuisse, vero mihi simile est : favet quod veteres scriptores nomen hoc a *frech, ferox*, deduxisse videntur ; favet quod Snorro adhuc non *Francolandia*, sed *Fracoland* scribat : vicina Wagriæ est regio, ubi Ptol. *duas Mariones*, Paulus Diaconus, et Anonymus Ravennas *Mauringiam* locant, a paludibus, quibus regio Meclenburgica præ reliquis abundat, dictam : Slavi regionem adjacentem *Pomeraniam* deinde, quasi *regionem prope* terram paludosam, sive *prope Mauringiam* vocavere : terræ autem, ubi linea Francorum remorata est, proxima, fuit Mauringiæ. Hanoveræ d. ii. Nov. 1718." *Epistle of J. G. Eccardus to J. Alberti Fabricius*, inserted in H. S. Reimar's *Comment. de Vita et Scriptis J. A. Fabricii*, p. 249. Reimar subjoins to the extract the following note :— "Non sum nescius quædam horum passim attigisse Eccardum ad *Legg. Francorum et Ripuariorum ;* malui tamen uno nexu exhibere elegantes de ora septentrionali Germaniæ conjecturas."

gnatur: non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantùm nota, tunc tantùm amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat: mox vehiculum et vestes, et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur.[1] Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror, sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit id, quod tantùm perituri vident.

41. Et hæc quidem pars Suevorum in secretiora Germaniæ porrigitur. Propior, ut, quomodo paulo antè Rhenum, sic nunc Danubium sequar, Hermundurorum civitas, fida Romanis; eóque solis Germanorum non in ripâ commercium, sed penitus, atque in splendidissimâ Rhætiæ provinciæ coloniâ. Passim et sine custode transeunt; et cùm ceteris gentibus arma modò castraque nostra ostendamus, his domos, villasque patefecimus, non concupiscentibus. In Hermunduris Albis oritur, flumen inclitum et notum olim; nunc tantùm auditur.

42. Juxta Hermunduros Narisci, ac deinde Marcoman et Quadi agunt. Præcipua Marcomanorùm gloria vires-

[1] *Vehiculum abluitur.* "Lavatio Cybeles Matris Deum solemniter celebratur vi. Kal. April. in fluvio Almone, qui non procul urbe Tiberi miscetur: Vibius Sequester *de Nom. Fluvior.*, *Almo Romæ, ubi Mater Deum vi. Kal. April. lavatur:* Arnob. *adv. Gent.* 7. *Lavatio Matris Deum est hodie:* Lucan. 1. "Et lotam parvo revocant Almone Cybellen:" Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 8. "Sic ubi Mygdonios planctus sacer abluit Almo, Lætaque jam Cybele, festæque per oppida tædæ:" Mart. *Epigr.* 3, 47. "Capena grandis porta qua pluit gutta, Phrygiæque Matris Almo qua lavit ferrum:" Prudentius *Hymno in Rom. Martyrem* describit plenius:—"Nudare plantas ante carpentum scio Proceres togatos Matris Idææ sacris: Lapis nigellus evehendus essedo, Muliebris oris clausus argento sedet: Quem dum ad lavacrum præeundo ducitis, Pedes remotis atterentes calceis Almonis usque pervenitis rivulum:" Kal. Vetus, *Mente Martio, post Quinquatria, Lavatio.* Amm. Marc. 23. *Ad diem* vi. *Kal. quo Romæ Matri Deorum pompæ celebrantur annales, et carpentum, quo vehitur simulacrum, Almonis undis ablui perhibetur.*" Jo. Lomieri *Epimenides s. de Vett. Gentilium Lustrationibus Syntagma,* Ed. 2. p. 320. Similar lavations are practised in the East at the present day.

que, atque ipsa etiam sedes, pulsis olim Boiis, virtute parta. Nec Narisci Quadive degenerant. Eaque Germaniæ velut frons est, quatenus Danubio peragitur.[1] Marcomanis Quadisque usque ad nostram memoriam reges manserunt, ex gente ipsorum, nobile Marabodui et Tudri genus : jam et externos patiuntur : sed vis et potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romanâ : raro armis nostris, sæpiùs pecuniâ juvantur, nec minus valent.

43. Retro Marsigni, Gothini, Osi, Burii : terga Marcomanorum Quadorumque claudunt : e quibus Marsigni, et Burii sermone cultuque Suevos referunt. Gothinos Gallica, Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit, non esse Germanos ; et quod tributa patiuntur : partem tributorum Sarmatæ, partem Quadi, ut alienigenis, imponunt : Gothini,

[1] *Quatenus Danubio peragitur.* " *Peragitur*, Codd. Lips. Turic. Bamb. et Longol. Editt. Spir. Nor. Mon. Vocula una omissa, *pergitur*, Put. Vienn. Ald., patrocinantibus Pichena et Longolio. Mox spreta librorum auctoritate *prætexitur*, Rhenan. Lips. (cui in Editt. adscribi solet conjectura, quod unde hauserit, putida Ern. negligentia nescire se fatetur !) et Bred., ut c. 34. *Porrigitur*, (sive *porgitur*, quod arridebat Ernestio,) Lips. in *Notis* prioribus et Seebod." [see ch. 41.] " *Protegitur*, Bipont. Oberl. cf. *Ann.* 15, 43. *Prætenditur* tentavit Bred." [and before Bredow, E. H. Barker in *the Classical Recreations* p. 100. London, 1812.] " comparans *Ann.* 2, 56. *Hist.* 2, 6. 14." [' *Perrigatur* vel *tergitur* putabam olim : nunc magis arridet, quod e Mss. proferunt *peragitur*, de quo verbo copiose in *Adversariis*.' N. Heins.] " Harum conjecturarum refutandarum tædium devoravit Emmerling. p. 29. cetera bene, nisi quod ipsum detinuerit sphalma Puteolani. *Quatenus Danubio peragitur* sc. *iter*. Danubii tractum sequenti hæc Germaniæ quasi frons est. Simili τοῦ ὁδοῦ ellipsi in verbis synonymis utuntur Græci : τελεῖν Markl. Eur. *Suppl.* 1142. Wessel. ad Diod. Sic. T. 2. p. 95. Schæf. *Meletem. Cr.* 94. et ἀνύειν, Brunck. Aristoph. Πλ. 607. Ὄρν. 241. Idem ad Soph. *Œd.* C. 1562. Erf. ad Soph. *Ant.* 231. 799. Schæf. ad L. Bos. *Ell.* 333. etc. Similem explicationem admittit altera lectio, e Put. notata, *pergitur* : v. quæ monuit F. A. Wolf. ad *Ann.* 1, 28. ita ut de emendatione omnino non sit cogitandum. Ipsius Tac. verba, *Quomodo paulo ante Rhenum*, sic nunc *Danubium sequar*, comparavit Emmerling., etsi eorum auctoritate in rem malam abusus." Passow.

quò magis pudeat,[1] et ferrum effodiunt:[2] omnesque hi

[1] *Quo magis pudeat*, "sc. tributa pati, nec armis se in libertatem vindicare." Ern.

[2] *Et ferrum effodiunt.* "Quia apud Romanos ad metalla damnari pœna erat, Brisson." [Plin. *Ep.*, 10, 66. Plaut. *Capt.* 3, 5, 78. 5, 1, 24.] "Ad hæc respici illis præpositum *et* satis arguat Ernestium, qui illud *pudeat* ad illud longius distans *tributa patiuntur* retulit." Longol. But, as the words between *tributa patiuntur* and *pudeat* all relate to this subject of the tribute, Ern. might justly infer, from his own interpretation, that *pudeat* depended upon some such words, as *tributa pati*, understood. I, however, acquiesce in the view of the passage taken by Briss. and Longol. The *et* merely refers to the precedent member of the sentence, where we are told that the Osi paid a tribute to both Sarmatians and Quadians: Tac. then observes, that the Gothinians were reduced to a condition still more slavish: *et ferrum effodiunt*, 'they were even compelled to work in the mines,' which was a species of Roman punishment. Plautus says in the two passages, to which I have referred above, *In lapidicinas facite deductus siet*, *In lapidicinas compeditum condidi.* This mode of life would naturally appear in a more odious light to Tac. with his Roman prejudices against it as a species of Roman punishment. Galgacus says in his speech to the Britons, *Agric.* 31. *Nos in excidium petimur: neque enim arva nobis, aut metalla, aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur*: 32. *Hic dux, hic exercitus: ibi tributa et metalla, et ceteræ servientium pœnæ, quas in æternum proferre, aut statim ulcisci, in hoc campo est.* There is another passage of the same kind in *Germ.* 45.: —*Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur: cetera similes, uno differunt, quod femina dominatur: in tantum non modo a libertate, sed etiam a servitute degenerant.* Now this peculiarity in the Sitonic customs does not affect us, among whom women are allowed to reign, in the same manner, as it would affect the Roman, in the history of whose country a female reign was never known. Hence too Cicero says in his *Parad.* 5, 2. *An ille mihi liber, cui femina imperat?* Dr. Aikin is too refined in his notion:—"Ptolemy mentions Iron-Mines in or near the country of the Quadi. I should imagine that the expression *additional disgrace*, (or, more literally, *which might make them more ashamed*,) does not refer merely to the slavery of working in mines, but to the circumstance of their digging up *iron*, the substance by means of which they might acquire freedom and independence. This is quite in the manner of Tac. The word *iron* was figuratively used by the ancients to signify 'military force' in general. Thus Solon, in his well-known answer to Crœsus, observed to him that the nation, which possessed more iron, would be master of all his gold." But Murphy had ha-

populi pauca campestrium, ceterùm saltus et vertices montium jugumque insederunt. Dirimit enim scinditque Sueviam continuum montium jugum, ultra quod plurimæ gentes agunt: ex quibus latissimè patet Lygiorum nomen, in plures civitates diffusum. Valentissimas nominasse sufficiet, Arios, Helveconas, Manimos, Elysios, Nahanarvalos. Apud Nahanarvalos antiquæ religionis lucus ostenditur. Præsidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu; sed deos, interpretatione Romanâ, Castorem Pollucemque memorant. Ea vis numini: nomen *Alcis:* nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinæ superstitionis vestigium: ut fratres tamen, ut juvenes venerantur. Ceterùm Arii super vires, quibus enumeratos paulo antè populos antecedunt, truces, insitæ feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur: nigra scuta, tincta corpora; atras ad prœlia noctes legunt; ipsâque formidine atque umbrâ feralis exercitûs terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum aspectum: nam primi in omnibus prœliis oculi vincuntur. Trans Lygios Gothones regnantur, paulo jam adductiùs,[1] quàm ceteræ Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen

zarded the same opinion:—"They had *iron*, and did not chuse to make use of it to assert their liberty: the answer of Solon to Crœsus, King of Lydia, is well known: 'The people,' he said, 'who have most iron, will be masters of all your gold.' The Gothinians did not understand that plain and obvious truth."

[1] *Adductius.* "*Addictius*, Rhen. et plures ante Pichen. *addictus*, Ald. Adverbii sensu activo usurpati exemplum modo attuli, (*Hist.* 3, 7. *Addictius, quam bello civili, imperitabat:*) accedat alterum *Ann.* 14, 4. cf. Gierig. ad Plin. *Ep.* 1, 16. Potestati passivæ fidem faciat idem Tac. ipse, *Ann.* 12, 17." Passow. The true reading is *adductius*, which is the more rare, as well as the more exquisite term. Gronov.:—"*Regnantur adductius*, i. e. adductioribus habenis, minori specie libertatis, et majore solutioreque potestate regia." Forcellinus: —"*Adductius*, translate est severe, cui *remisse* opponitur, Tac. *Germ.* 43. *Hist.* 3, 7. (l. c.) Priore loco alii leg. *addictius*, hoc est magis obnoxie, magis serviliter. Si *adductius*, retineas, refertur ad imperantem; si *addictius* ad subditos." Gesner:—"*Adductius*, Tac. *Germ.* 43. i. severius, *Hist.* (l. c.) quæ formula ex re equestri et habenis adductis petita: *Ann.* 14, 4. *Nam pluribus sermonibus modo familiaritate juvenili Nero, et rursus adductus, quasi*

supra libertatem. Protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii. Omniumque harum gentium insigne, rotunda scuta, breves gladii, et erga reges obsequium.

44. Suionum hinc civitates, ipsæ in Oceano, præter viros armaque classibus valent. Forma navium eò differt, quòd utrinque prora paratam semper appulsui frontem agit: nec velis ministrantur,[1] nec remos in ordinem lateribus adjungunt: solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et

seria consociaret etc., i. severus, 12, 7, 5. *Adductum et quasi virile servitium, palam severitas ac sæpius superbia. Adduco* est intorqueo, roto, Virg. *Æn.* 9, 587. *fundam—ipse ter adducta circum caput egit habena.* Sic Non. 4, 37. Nempe ille ipse circularis et vertiginosus motus in eo inest, ut excussa et fugiens a centro habena subinde adducatur. Sic *adduco equum* est cohibeo. Cic. per metaphoram pulcram verbi proprietatem indicavit in *Lælio* 45. c. 13. *Quam commodissimum esse laxissimas habenas habere amicitiæ, quas vel adducas, cum velis, vel remittas.* Liv. 9, 12. 'Quum apparitor verecundia majestatis Postumium laxe vinciret, Quin tu, inquit, adducis lorum, ut justa fiat deditio?'"

[1] *Velis ministrantur.* "Libri Mss. et impr. vett. omnes: Lips. ex ingenio, *velis ministrant*, Virgilianum illud, *Æn.* 6, 302. *Ipse ratem conto subigit, velisque ministrat*, imitatus, cf. 10, 218. (*Ipse sedens clavumque regit, velisque ministrat:*) Lucan. 3, 690. *Tela legunt dejecta mari, ratibusque ministrant.* Cum Lipsio fecerunt posteriores, Longolio et Seebodio exceptis. Non meminerant, verbum *ministrare* sexto quoque casui jungi: ita Val. Flacc. 3, 38. *ipse ratem vento stellisque ministrat.* Nec aliter locus Virg. prior accipiendus est, nec aliter Cornelianus, de quo loquimur. Nec naves Suionum velis ministrantur, nec remos lateribus adjungunt Suiones. De transitu e passivo in activum loquendi genus, ap. Tac. usitatissimo supra monitum est. *Ministrare* vero et *ministerium*, etiamsi nihil additum sit, de navibus recte dici, probaverunt Interprr. Petron. *de Mutat. Reip. Rom.* 234." Passow. "*Velis ministrant*, Mantuana phrasis est, qua est usus et in 6. et in 10. Maro: eum imitatus est Tac. *Germ.* Est autem *ministrare velis*, se ministrum velis præbere, ut dicitur *homini ministrare*." Adr. Turneb. *Advers.* 29, 24. "*Ministro velis*, de gubernatore navis, Virg. *Æn.* 6. (l. c.) ubi Serv.: Aut per vela, et est septimus; aut velis obsequitur, et est dativus. *Ministro navem velis*, est ago, rego, Tac. *Germ.* (l. c.) Val. Flacc. (l. c.) Ex hoc loco prior Servii interpretatio firmatur. Eodem modo de auriga, Stat. *Theb.* 7, 752. *Ipse sedens telis, pariterque ministrat habenis.*" Forcellin.

mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium. Est apud illos et opibus honos: eòque unus imperitat, nullis jam exceptionibus, non precario jure parendi: nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in promiscuo; sed clausa sub custode, et quidem servo: quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet Oceanus. Otiosa porro armatorum manus, facilè lasciviunt: enimverò neque nobilem, neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem armis præponere regia utilitas est.

45. Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac propè immotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides, quòd extremus cadentis jam solis fulgor in ortus edurat, adeò clarus, ut sidera hebetet: sonum insuper audiri,[1] formas deorum et radios capitis[2] aspici, persuasio adjicit. Illuc

[1] *Sonum insuper audiri.* "Cod. Turic. Spir. Put. Mon. Vienn. recentt. plurimi. *Sonum insuper emergentis audiri*, Cod. Hummel. Nor. Rheu. Longol. nullo sensu. Hinc, *se mergentis*, Lips. Cluver. et Heins. ad Vell. 1, 17, 1. *immergentis*, Coler. Utrumque, quantum ad sensum, recte; nam aliunde quoque constat de hac veterum, præcipue Epicureorum, opinione, solem in Oceanum descendentem stridorem edere, ferro candenti in aquam demisso simillimum: v. Bak. ad Posidon. Rhod. 69. Cleomed. *Cycl. Theor.* 2, 1. p. 453. Interprr. Val. Flacc. 2, 36. Juven. 14, 280. Stat. *Silv.* 2, 7, 27. Sed ad hæc emendatione haud opus esse vere monuit Ern., nec vero magis illud Bipontinorum incisum post *hebetet,* cuiquam placebit. Accepit hæc Schlœzer. *Hist. Univ. Septentr.* 139. de fulgoribus borealibus, explicuitque e narrationibus per Lapponiam peregrinantium, præcipue Monnerii, qui simillima de mira colorum coruscatione deque inaudito quodam strepitu inter hæc phænomena observato tradiderunt." Passow.

[2] *Formas deorum et radios capitis.* "Cum pace dictum sit, salva lectio et mens auctoris paulo altior videtur: per *deorum* enim *formas* spectra Tac. et dæmonum apparitiones designavit; semper enim ista per naturam frigoribus damnata loca Finniæ, Lappiæ, Norvagiæ, Islandiæ, &c. exercitiis infesta magicis et dæmoniacis illusionibus fuere." Kirchmajer. Oberlin, who quotes this opinion, refers us to *Ann.* 2, 24. *Ut quis ex longinquo revenerat, miracula narrabant, vim turbinum, et inauditas volucres, monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et belluarum formas, visa, sive ex metu credita.* Oberlin also records another interpretation:—"Forsan et ad auroram borealem hæc referenda putant, cujus miri lusus et luminis vibrationes, et apud alios barbaros, et apud ipsos Græcos, deorum formas radian-

usque, et fama vera, tantùm natura.[1] Ergo jam dextro

temque superorum cœtum repræsentare sint visæ, conjecturam hanc egregio loco ex De Pauw *Res. sur les Américains* 1, 2. repetito, firmant." The Bipontine Editors retain the reading *deorum*, and give a different interpretation : — " Existimant effigies animalium impressas soli, unde deciduis seminibus præcipue in mari monstrificæ gignantur effigies, ut est ap. Plin. *H. N.* 2, 3. credidisse et illas gentes." Longol. also retains *deorum*, which he interprets of the *stars*, as in Ovid *Met.* 1, 73. *Astra tenent cœleste solum, formæque deorum.* "Frustra est Longol. probaturus ex Ovidio *sidera* intelligi. Num tantum inter Suiones astra lucent?—Mihi quidem a vero omnium proxime abesse videntur, qui ex auroræ borealis miris fulgoribus commenta illa de formis deorum radiisque capitis fluxisse contendant." Emmerling. Heinsius ad Vellei. 1, 17. proposes *formæque decorum* s. *decorem.* " Est in eodem Tac. locus alius suspectus mihi, *Germ.* 45. *Sonum insuper emergentis audiri, formasque deorum et radios capitis aspici persuasio adjicit:* sermo est de sole, qua specie oriri cernatur in extremis, ut putabant, et Oceano vicinis terris : itaque cum de sole, unicoque sole ibi sermo sit, non video quare hic posuerit *deorum formas* in plurali. Dicat quispiam per *deos* cetera intelligere ; sed obstat totus locus, qui de *sole unico* agit : imo antecedit isto exortu *sidera hebetari*, ut de iis frustra cogitemus : sed et sequitur *radios capitis* de uno sole, non *capitum*, de aliis sideribus. Puto igitur scripsisse Tac. *formæque decorum*," [' Heinsii conjectura stare nequit, quia nil ibi superstitiosi foret, eandem tamen profert et Scheffer. in *Misc. Obs.* 8, 292.' Oberlin.] "pro *formas deorum*, et intellexisse præstantiam ac dignitatem speciei, qua se sol conspiciendum præbeat in ortu. Illud *formæ* scriptum erat separatis literis in fine, sicut fit sæpissime in Mss. isto modo *formæque*. Ex isto male scripto sciolus fecerat *formasque*, et quia non conveniebat *formasque decorum*, deterior sciolus fecerat *formasque deorum*, quod huc usque retinuisse mirer tot VV. DD., qui in eo emendando fuerunt occupati." J. Schefferi *Advers. Liber*, ἀνέκδοτος, inserted in the *Misc. Obs.* V. 8. T. 2. p. 292. " Melius *formasque equorum*, ni forte *formas deorum* accipias de Neptuno aliisque marinis deis solem excipientibus." Brotier. " Quorum deorum? Nugæ ; nam de sole tantum loquitur : nullum a libris vett. auxilium : itaque timidius legerim, *formasque equorum:* Virg. *Formas ululare luporum:* superstitiosa gens equos solis et capitis divini radios cernere se somniabat." Coler. "Non male suspicatur leg. *formasque equorum*, qui nempe crediti trahere solis currum." Conring. " Affirmem juratus scripsisse Tac. *Sonum insuper emergentis audiri, formas equorum et radios in capite aspici, persuasio adjicit.*" Tan.

Tac. I

Suevici maris littore Æstyorum gentes alluuntur: quibus

Faber. I cannot but think that *formasque equorum*, or rather *formas equorum*, is the true reading, because it alone bears any relation to the subject, and Tacitus is, as Coler and Scheffer observe, speaking only of the sun, and so the whole context proves: *radios capitis* certainly allude to the rays, which incircle the head of the solar deity, and, as the words *sonum insuper audiri* allude to the sun, we may reasonably conclude that the words, (whatever they may have originally been,) between *audiri*, and *radios capitis*, must be interpreted of the sun only.

As to the fact itself stated by Tacitus, *Quod extremus cadentis jam solis fulgor in ortus edurat, adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet*, Coler cites Saxo Grammaticus:—"de Norvegia, in cujus parte extima ne noctu quidem diurnum sidus occulitur, ita ut continui solis præsentia alternos horarum dedignata successus utrique tempori pars luminis administratione deserviat: intelligit idem cum Tacito cœli marisve spatium." By far the best comment on the words of Tac. is to be found in Chandler's *Travels in Asia*, p. 3.:—"To complete this wonderful day" [in the Mediterranean,] "the sun before its setting was exceedingly big, and assumed a variety of fantastic shapes: it was surrounded first with a golden glory of great extent, and flamed upon the surface of the sea in a long column of fire: the lower half of the orb soon after immerged in the horizon, the other portion remaining very large and red, with half of a smaller orb beneath it, and separate, but in the same direction, the circular rim approaching the line of its diameter: these two by degrees united, and then changed rapidly into different figures, until the resemblance was that of a capacious punch-bowl inverted: the rim of the bottom extending upward, and the body lengthening below, it became a mushroom on a stalk, with a round head: it was next metamorphosed into a flaming cauldron, of which the lid, rising up, swelled nearly into an orb, and vanished: the other portion put on several uncircular forms, and after many twinklings and faint glimmerings slowly disappeared, quite red; leaving the clouds hanging over the dark rocks on the Barbary-shore finely tinged, of a vivid bloody hue. And here we may recollect that the ancients had various stories concerning the setting of the sun in the Atlantic ocean; as for instance that it was accompanied with a noise, as of the sea hissing, and that night immediately followed: that its magnitude in going down apparently increased, was a popular remark, but had been contradicted by an Author, who observed thirty evenings at Gades, and never perceived any augmentation: one writer had

ritus habitusque Suevorum, lingua Britannicæ propior.

affirmed that the orb became 100 times bigger than its common size. This phænomenon will vary, as it depends on the state of the atmosphere: it is likely to be most remarkable, when westerly winds have prevailed for some time; these coming over the Atlantic ocean, and bringing with them the gross vapours, which arise continually, or are exhaled, from that immense body of water." My learned and deceased friend, the Rev. Richard Patrick, to whom I shewed this Note, observed to me that Graham, on the authenticity of Ossian's Poems (p. 379.) after having quoted the passage of Tacitus, adds:—"The vulgar Highlander still believes that the sun, as he rises, and passes along the firmament, makes a rustling noise, which may be heard."

[1] *Illuc usque, et fama vera, tantùm natura,* "Edd. vett. omnes: distinctionem addidit Vienn., propagavit Rhen., sequuti sunt Ern. Longol. Oberl. Bred. Et recte quidem. Natura quomodo opponeretur rebus divinis et cœlestibus, quarum certa cognitione destituti simus, docuit Lipsius. Quæ addit Tac. *Et fama vera,* ea Emmerlingio languida et insititia visa sunt, non mihi. Nec hæc nisi e fama Romanis cognita esse poterant; nemo enim mare Suevicum viderat. Quum vero Tacito persuasissimum esset, hic terminos esse rerum, quanto incredulus reliquas de Septentrione narrationes rejecerat, eo magis hæc suffragio suo debebat comprobare. Ceterum in libro vetere Is. Voss. ad Melam 3, 3, 35. p. 795. Gron. invenit, *Illuc usque, ut fama, non tamen natura.* Hinc tentavit Bred. *Illuc usque, ut fama, vera tantum natura;* quod, non uno nomine vituperandum, temere recepit Seeb. Præterea Lips., *Si fama vera.* Bip. satis contorte, *Illuc usque it fama: vera tantum natura.* Alii aliter, nec probabilius." Passow. The Rev. Mr. Ingram, of Trin. Coll. Oxford, obligingly favoured me by letter with the following conjecture:—"If I were to suggest any alteration in one obscure and disputed passage in the *Germ.*, my reading would be, *Huc usque, est vero fama tantum, natura,* or, as we generally print with a parenthesis, thus, *Huc usque, (est vero fama tantum,) natura:* 'Thus far do the boundaries of the world extend: in this particular, however, as in other respects, let me be understood as speaking only from report.' This, I assure you, Sir, was the reading, which I suggested to my pupils long ago, when at Lectures we came to this passage, with which I was always dissatisfied; for I cannot imagine that Tac. would have weakened the nervous elasticity of his diction by the overwhelming weight of three adverbs in succession, *Huc usque tantum,* 'So far only' —τὸ *tantum,* as the Critics say, 'redundat et supervacaneum est.'" In a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Parr, dated Febr. 8, 1814,

Matrem deûm venerantur: insigne superstitionis, formas aprorum gestant: id pro armis omniumque tutelâ:[1] securum deæ cultorem etiam inter hostes præstat. Rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. Frumenta ceterosque fructus patientiùs, quàm pro solitâ Germanorum inertiâ, laborant. Sed et mare scrutantur; ac soli omnium succinum, quod ipsi *glesum* vocant, inter vada atque in ipso littore legunt: nec, quæ natura, quæve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quæsitum compertumve: diu quin etiam inter cetera ejectamenta maris jacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen: ipsis in nullo usu, rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. Succum[2]

Mr. Ingram writes:—"I am sorry Mr. Barker should have attached any importance to a conjecture of mine respecting a disputed passage in Tac., because I trust I have since thought of a better reading, which is this, *Huc usque, sit fama vera tantum, natura.*" "Erudite, ut multa, hoc explicat Lips.: tamen non placet sermonis cohærentia et omnino putem scr. *Illuc usque, si vera fama, tantum natura.* Si verum est, inquit, illud, quod ajunt de stridore radiisque solis, sane sequitur ibi deficere hoc universum, nec ultra protendi." Grot. This is in my opinion the happiest conjecture, because the expression is Virgilian, and Tac. often, as we have seen, imitates the Mantuan bard: *Georg.* 4, 42. *Sæpe etiam effossis, si vera est fama, latebris.*"

[1] *Id pro armis omniumque tutela.* "Legis *omnique*, forte *communi:* notulæ quidem prorsus totidem atque eædem, si præfixeris literam c." Extract from a Letter of Jac. Lectius, addressed to Justus Lipsius, and inserted in *Philol. Epist. Centuria una diversorum a renatis Litteris DD. VV.* 378. "*Omniumque*, Edd. vett. omnes. Ex ingenio dederat Lips. *omnique,* quod Ern. auctoritate Cod. Turic. confirmavit, recentt. receperunt. Equidem *formas aprorum* de signis illis accipio, quæ in similitudinem ferarum confecta silvis lucisque deprompta, in pugnas feruntur, vide c. 7., *Hist.* 4, 22. cf. Gebaver. *Vestig. Jur. Germ.* 912. Quæ si recte intellexi, universarum tantum cohortium, non singulorum militum hæc erant insignia, nec jam negabis, optime habere lect. ante Lipsium vulgatam, quam revocare non dubitavi." Passow.

[2] *Succum.* "Amber is now generally looked upon as a fossil bitumen, since mines of it have been found in Prussia, where it is dug in considerable quantity. It is difficult, however, to conceive how the insects, which are almost univer-

tamen arborum esse intelligas, quia terrena quædam atque etiam volucria animalia plerumque interlucent, quæ implicata humore, mox, durescente materiâ, cluduntur. Fecundiora igitur nemora lucosque, sicut Orientis secretis,[1] ubi tura balsamaque sudantur,[2] ita Occidentis insulis terrisque inesse crediderim, quæ vicini Solis radiis expressa atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur, ac vi tempestatum in adversa littora exundant. Si naturam succini admoto igni tentes, in modum tædæ accenditur, alitque flammam pinguem et olentem; mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit. Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur: cetera similes, uno differunt, quòd femina dominatur: in tantum

sally found in it, should get there, if it had always been a subterraneous substance. For a particular account of its nature and the methods of procuring it, see Neumann's *Chymistry*." Dr. Aikin.

[1] *Orientis secretis.* Brotier: —"Bene accurateque dictum, quia inter secreta habebantur, colebanturque tura ac balsama." He has evidently mistaken the sense of this passage: *orientis secretis* corresponds to *insulis terrisque*, and must be translated *the remote parts*, or *interior of the East*, *secretis* sc. *locis*. Thus ch. 41. *Et hæc quidem pars Suevorum in secretiora* (sc. *loca*) *Germaniæ porrigitur*. Murphy has evaded the difficulty:—"It is probable, therefore, that, as the East has its luxuriant plantations, where balm and frankincense perspire through the pores of trees, so the Continents and Islands of the West have their prolific groves." Dr. Aikin:—"I should therefore imagine that, as the luxuriant woods and groves in the secret recesses of the East exude frankincense and balsam, so there are the same in the Islands and Continents of the West." "Hic locus est, quem Cassiodor. *Ep.* 5, 2. indicatum voluit:—*Hoc succinum, quodam Cornelio scribente, legitur in interioribus insulis Oceani, ex arboris succo defluens, unde et* succinum *dicitur, paulatim solis ardore coalescens.* Sed itane contemptim ille de nostro, *quodam Cornelio?* non scripsit, sed *quondam*." Lips. Though the words *interioribus insulis Oceani* are not the words, yet they convey the meaning, of Tac.

[2] *Tura balsamaque sudantur.* "Virg. *Ecl.* 4, 30. *Et duræ quercus sudabunt roscida mella*, Justin. 36, 3, 4. *Arbores certo anni tempore balsamum sudant, ut Græci* ῥεῖν etiam usurpant, Eur. *Hec.* 528. Theocr. 5, 124." C. A. Klotz. *Misc. Cr.* 64.

non modò a libertate, sed etiam a servitute degenerant· Hìc Sueviæ fines.

46. Peucinorum, Venetorumque, et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis ascribam, dubito: quanquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone, cultu, sede ac domiciliis, ut Germani agunt: sordes omnium ac torpor procerum:[1] connubiis mixtis nonnihil in Sarmatarum

[1] *Torpor procerum.* "Si vox incorrupta est, certe cum *connubiis* conjungendum est." Bredow. "Rhen. conjicit *ceterum connubiis mixtis*, quod et mihi placet; quare enim inter *proceres* tantum connubia fingamus? *Connubia mixta* forent promiscua: sed quis ita locutus est? Leg. potius *mixti*, ut Coler. voluit," Ern. "*Procerum* tuentur Pich. et Conringius; sed male sejungunt a præcedentibus: restituo locum fere ut Bip.: *torpor procerum* opponitur *sordibus omnium:* ita jam Acidalius: ut legas *mixti* cum Colero, et aliis non opus: sensus idem." Oberlin. "Ego ita exponerem: *sordes omnium ac torpor mixtis*, (i. qui mixti fuere,) *procerum connubiis*, (i. per connubia procerum.)" Longol. "*Torpor procerum.* Distinxi ut in Edd. vett. factum est, faventibus inprimis Acidalio et Oberl. Primus Rhen. post *torpor* incisum collocavit; male: quid enim connubia procerum ad populum? Vulgatæ hic inest sensus: proceres non modo sordidi degunt, ut tota gens, sed torpentes nihilque agentes; et hactenus Germanis sunt propiores. Nihil igitur opus emendatione Rhenani, *ceterum*, quam Muret. et Ern. assensu suo ornarunt: plane vero inepta nuperrima est ratio, ex qua *procerum* pro adjectivo accipiendum, ac si dicturus fuisset Tac.: quantum ad proceritatem corporis! Rhenani distinctionem prætulerunt Pichena, Bred. Seebodius. *Mixtis: mistos*, Nor.; *mixti*, Coler. et Ern. ex ingenio. Frustra. Mira in h. l. commentatus est Gebaver. *Vestig. Jur. Germ.* 690. Connubia, quæ sine ulla distinctione inter diversas nationes fiebant, aliter dici vix poterant." Passow. That the punctuation, *Sordes omnium ac torpor: procerum connubiis* etc. is the only one, which gives the meaning of Tac. is, I think, evident from ch. 18. where he expressly says that, though the Germans were generally content each with one wife, yet some noblemen were polygamists from political necessity, because their alliance was courted by different families: *Singulis uxoribus contenti sunt; exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem, plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur.* This is the meaning of Tac.; and thus I have answered from the mouth of Tac. himself, the flippant question of Ernesti, reiterated by Passow, *Quare inter proceres tantum connubia fingamus?* But a difficulty still remains in the expression, *con-*

habitum fœdantur. Veneti multum ex moribus traxerunt:

nubiis mixtis, which Ernesti thinks would signify *promiscuous concubinage*, and which Passow unsatisfactorily attempts to explain in a different way. I suspect that neither Tac. nor any other classical writer, ever used *miscere connubia:* Tac. *Germ.* 22. uses *jungere affinitates*, Cic. *de Orat.* 1, 9. *conjungere connubia*, which is a very different phrase. Hence I would read here *connubiis mixti* with Ern. and Colerus. This is perfectly agreeable to Tac.'s style of expression: he says, *Germ.* 2. *Germanos indigenas—minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos:* Longol. rightly interprets the words by '*exterarum gentium connubia non petere.*' We must not suppose that *adventibus* and *hospitiis* here belong to *mixtos:* I have considerable doubts whether such an expression would be Latin: *adventibus* and *hospitiis* are governed by a preposition understood; and the substantive, which belongs to *mixtos*, is *connubiis* understood, an ellipse supplied in the passage, which we are discussing. I would translate the words thus:—'The Germans are indigenous, and though they have been frequently visited by other nations, they have intermarried as little as possible with foreign blood.' Tac. himself, who is always his best commentator, thus interprets the passage, 4. *Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniæ populos nullis aliis aliarum gentium connubiis infectos*, (i. e. *mixtos*, for *inficere* is properly a generic term,) *propriam, et sinceram, et tantum sui similem gentem arbitrantur.* I may here remark, by the way, that the expression *infectos connubiis* is very like to the *mixti connubiis*, which I would read in the passage under consideration. Again, in *Hist.* 2, 80. *Mixti necessitudinibus, et propinquitatibus: Ann.* 2, 24. *Mixti artibus, moribus, affinitatibus nostris: Germ.* 20. *Pares validique miscentur*, sc. *connubiis.* Justin *Hist.* 12, 12. makes Alexander say to his Persian soldiers, *Se in illorum, non illos in gentis suæ morem transisse, affinitatibus connubiorum victos victoribus miscuisse:* an expression analogous to this expression of Tacitus. These numerous testimonies are sufficient to authorise the change, which Colerus has proposed, and Ern. has approved. Dr. Aikin thus translates the passage:—"All of them live in filth and laziness. The intermarriages of their Chiefs with the Sarmatians have debased them by a mixture of the manners of that people." I may add that, if Tac. had designed *procerum* to be dependent on *torpor*, he would, in the pursuit of variety, elegance, and perspicuity, have written, *Sordes omnium, ac procerum torpor:* otherwise there is nothing to shew that *omnium* is not to be construed with

nam quicquid inter Peucinos Fennosque silvarum ac montium erigitur, latrociniis pererrant. Hi tamen inter Germanos potiùs referuntur, quia et domos fingunt, et scuta gestant, et peditum usu ac pernicitate gaudent; quæ omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt, in plaustro equoque viventibus. Fennis mira feritas, fœda paupertas: non arma, non equi, non penates: victui herba,[1] vestitui pelles, cubile humus: sola in sagittis spes, quas inopiâ ferri, ossibus asperant. Idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit. Passim enim comitantur, partemque prædæ petunt. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium, quàm ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur: huc redeunt juvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. Sed beatius arbitrantur, quàm ingemere agris, illaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare. Securi adversùs homines, securi adversùs deos, rem difficillimam assecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset. Cetera jam fabulosa: Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum vultusque, corpora

procerum. "De Sarmatarum sordibus, ut etiam Peucinis his fœdiores fuerint, nihil legi: longo minus de torpore, qui genti bellicosæ, et venatibus, equorum studio, et armatura nobili non convenit: ideo pro *fœdantur* adparet esse leg. *fœderantur*, sc. per illa ipsa connubia." C. Crus. *Probab. Cr.* 33. But, 1. Tac. does not apply the word *torpor* to the Sarmatæ, but only to the Peucini; 2. *fœderantur in habitum* is an indefensible phrase; 3. by *fœdantur* Tac. does not mean to describe the Peucini as having been more civilised than the Sarmatæ, whose manners they had adopted, but all, which can be fairly inferred from the expression, is, as we may see from the previous Note, that the Peucini had, by the intermarriages of their Chiefs with the Sarmatians, lost somewhat of their original manners, whether those manners were superior or inferior to the manners of the Sarmatians. Certainly there cannot be conceived a readier way of changing the manners of a people for better or worse, than to permit their Chiefs to intermarry with another nation.

[1] *Victui herba.* "As it is just after mentioned that their chief dependence is on the game procured in hunting, this can only mean that the *vegetable* food they use, consists of *wild*, in opposition to the *cultivated* products of the earth." Dr. Aikin.

atque artus ferarum gerere : quod ego, ut incompertum, in medium relinquam.[1]

[1] *In medium relinquam.* "*Totum esse in hostium potestate,*" [principio Orationis *pro Lege Manilia:*] "equidem accusandi casu leg. esse contendo *potestatem,* quomodo post in hac ipsa Oratione reponendum vidit docuitque Agellius *Noct. Att.* 1, 7. *In prædonum fuisse potestatem,* ἀρχαϊκῶς, concinnius nimirum, et ad numeros suaviter cadentes aptius quam quomodo in vulgus editum circumfertur *in prædonum fuisse potestate,* ut et J. C. *in potestatem fuit:* ita Plautus *Amphitryone, Nec vero mihi in mentem fuit,* Terentius *Eunucho, Ille ubi me videt esse in tantum honorem,* Propert. 2, 9. *Appositum fluviis in Simoenta vadis:* Apul. *Met.* 4. *In proximum fuit.* Græci ad hæc, ut Diog. L. *Theophrasto* (51.) Τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους εἰκόνα τεθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν, pro ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀνατεθῆναι : sed οἴκοθεν μάρτυρα Ciceronem in rem præsentem advocemus; sic enim in *Quinctiana, Itaque ex eo tempore res esse in vadimonium cœpit;* et *Divinatione in Verrem, Ab exteris nationibus, quæ in amicitiam ditionemque populi Romani essent; pro Quinctio* et *pro A. Cæcina, Esse in possessionem bonorum,* et *Verrina* 2. *Qui illam partem urbis non in eorum potestatem, et portum futurum intelligebant,* qui locus nostro ita geminus est, ut non ovum ovo similius esse videatur. Sic et interdum Græci εἶμι dicunt pro τῷ ἀρτίως πορεύομαι, et contra ἧκα, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀρτίως ἦλθον : sic *in medium relinquere,* et *ponere in medium* dixit Q. Claudius 1 *Annali* ap. Agell. 17, 2. M. tamen Cicero *in medio ponere, Verrina* 6. et 1. *de Nat. Deor.,* si probi sunt editi Codd." A. Schotti *Nodor. Cic.* L. 1, c. 6. p. 284. "*Ego in medium relinquo: Lex. Fabro-Cellarianum* approbare tantum videtur *in medio,* sed enim, qui probe locuti sunt, approbant *in medium:* vide Nostrum 17, 2. ex cl. Quadrigario, ubi ille ex hoc vindicat ignotum vulgo *in medium relinquere:* adde Tac. *Germ.* (l. c.) *Quod ego, ut incompertum, in medium relinquam:* consimiliter Lactantius *de Vita beata* 1, 4. *Si hoc, cujus causa illa suscepta sunt, in incertum relinquamus.*" C. Falsteri *Admonitiones ad Interpretes Gellii* 6, 14. subjoined to his *Amœnitates philologicæ,* p. 251. "Plura in Vechneri *Hellenolexia.*" Longol.

BREVIARIUM

VITÆ

CN. JULII AGRICOLÆ.

I. *In scribendâ clarorum Virorum Vitâ Mos.* II. *Pericula.* III. *Tacito animos addit præsens temporum felicitas.* IV. *Cn. Julii Agricolæ Stirps, Pueritia; Adolescentiæ studia.* V. *Prima castrorum Rudimenta in Britanniâ.* VI. *Ejus Matrimonium; Quæstura; Tribunatus plebis; Prætura; sacra Ædilitas.* VII. *Othoniano Bello matrem partemque patrimonii amittit. In Vespasiani partes transgressus, vicesimæ Legioni in Britanniâ præest.* VIII. *Ibi alienæ famæ cura suam promovet.* IX. *Inter Patricios adsciscitur; Aquitaniam regit. Inde Consul, Tacito filiam suam uxorem dat; Britanniæ præponitur, adjecto Pontificatûs Sacerdotio.* X. *Britanniæ Descriptio.* XI. *Incolarum Origo, Habitus, Sacra, Sermo, Mores.* XII. *Eorum Militia, Regimen, Conventus; Cælum, Solum, Metalla, Margarita.* XIII. *Victæ Gentis Ingenium. Cæsarum in Britanniam Expeditiones.* XIV. *Consulares Legati Aulus Plautius, Ostorius Scapula, Didius Gallus, Veranius, Suetonius Paullinus.* XV. *Britanniæ Rebellio.* XVI. *Boudicea, Generis regii Fæmina, Britannorum Dux. Motum hunc compescit Paullinus; cui successere Trebellius Maximus et Vettius Bolanus, sed ignavi.* XVII. *Rem restituunt magni Duces, Petilius Cerialis et Julius Frontinus.* XVIII. *Agricola Britanniæ præficitur. Victis Ordovicibus, Monam Insulam in deditionem recipit.* XIX. *Præclaræ Artes,*

quibus Provinciam regit, Bellorum causas amovet. XX. *Terrore, clementiâ parta pax.* XXI. *Liberalibus Artibus et Voluptatibus molliuntur Britannorum animi.* XXII. *Novæ Gentes apertæ et vastatæ.* XXIII. *Bello adquisita præsidiis firmantur.* XXIV. *De occupandâ Hiberniâ consilium.* XXV. *Civitates trans Bodotriam sitæ explorantur. Motus Caledoniorum.* XXVI. *Ii nonam Legionem aggrediuntur: cedunt territi.* XXVII. *Redit tamen animus; conspirantque Civitates.* XXVIII. *Usipiorum Cohors miro casu Britanniam circumvecta.* XXIX. *Calgacus Bellum parat; Montemque Grampium occupat.* XXX. *Egregia ejus Oratio.* XXXIII. *Romanos quoque adloquitur Agricola.* XXXV. *Atrox cruentumque Prœlium.* XXXVIII. *Penes Romanos Victoria. Britanniam circumvehi præcipit Agricola.* XXXIX. *Domitianus, fronte lætus, pectore anxius, nuntium Victoriæ excipit.* XL. *Triumphalia tamen Ornamenta Statuamque decerni jubet: condito odio, donec Provinciâ decedat Agricola. Is, e Britanniâ redux, modeste agit.* XLI. *Ejus e Principe, ex aulâ Pericula.* XLII. *Excusat se ne Proconsulatum sortiatur.* XLIII. *Moritur, Domitiani Veneno, ut fama fuit, interceptus.* XLIV. *Ejus Ætas, Forma, Honores, Opes.* XLV. *Mortis opportunitas, ante Domitiani atrocitates. Taciti in Agricolam Pietas.* XLVI. *Ex Virtute solatia, Virtutisque documenta.*

Agricolæ Vitam scripsit Tacitus.

A. U. C.	J. C.		
DCCCL.	97.	Coss.	M. COCCEIO Nervâ Aug. III, L. VERGINIO Rufo III.

CN. JULII AGRICOLÆ

VITA,[1]

SCRIPTORE

C. CORN. TACITO.

Clarorum[2] virorum facta moresque posteris tradere antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus, quanquam incuriosa suorum ætas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium, parvis magnisque civitatibus commune, ignorantiam recti et invidiam. Sed apud priores, ut agere memoratu digna pronum, magisque in aperto erat; ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio, ad prodendam virtutis memoriam, sine gratiâ aut ambitione, bonæ tantùm conscientiæ pretio, ducebatur. Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare, fiduciam potiùs morum, quàm arrogantiam arbitrati sunt: nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem, aut obtrectationi fuit: adeò virtutes iisdem temporibus optimè æstimantur, quibus facillimè gignuntur. At mihi nunc, narraturo vitam defuncti

[1] "*Vita.* In hâc Cn. Julii Agricolæ *Vitâ* absolutissimum habemus decoræ perfectæque laudationis exemplar. Ad illud quanto magis accesserit, quicumque id scribendi genus suscipit, tanto probatior erit et illustrior: quo magis autem ab eò recesserit, tanto pluribus obruetur vitiis." Brotier.

[2] "*Clarorum.* Ordo est: Ætas, quanquam incuriosa suorum, omisit ne nostris quidem temporibus usitatum antiquitus, tradere posteris facta moresque clarorum virorum, quotiens &c." Brotier.

hominis, veniâ opus fuit: quam non petissem, ni cursaturus[1] tam sæva et infesta virtutibus tempora.

2. Legimus,[2] cùm Aruleno Rustico[3] Pætus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse: neque in ipsos modò auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum sævitum, delegato triumviris ministerio, ut monimenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani, et libertatem senatûs, et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiæ professoribus,[4] atque omni bonâ arte in exsilium actâ, ne quid

[1] "*Cursaturus.* Sic Edd. Put. Beroald. Alc. At Rhenanus e conjectura dedit *incursaturus.* Antiquum restituit Pichena: quod verum puto. *Cursare* dixit amans frequentativa et simplicia verba scriptor pro *decurrere;* ut etiam poëtæ *currere* dicunt pro *decurrere.* Virg. *Æn.* 3, 191. *vastumque cava trabe currimus æquor.* Vide Heins. ad Ovid. *Tr.* 5, 7, 36. Atque, ut Ovid. sæpe de scribente dicit *currere,* ingeniumque scribentis *navem* appellat allegorice, ut in *Fastis* 1, 4. 4, 18.; sic Tac. dicit se *cursare, decurrere tempora,* cum scribit res talibus temporibus gestas. Sic Cic. *decursum temporis,* quanquam alio sensu, dixit *ad Fam.* 3, 2. Atque etiam *decurrere* de scribente et explicante aliquid, *Or.* 1, 32." Ern. Valerius Flaccus 4, 108. *sic undique in omnes Prospiciunt cursantque vias.* Tac. *Ann.* 13, 37. *incursare avia Armeniæ.*

[2] "*Legimus.* Immo viderat Tac., ut ipse testatur c. 45. Sed edicta quoque, quibus damnati fuerant, scripta, quibus laudati, legerat. Præterea hæc non tam ad scriptorem, quàm ad lectores pertinent." Brotier.

[3] "A passage in Dio 62. p. 765. excellently illustrates the fact here referred to:—'He (Domitian) put to death Rusticus Arulenus, because he studied philosophy, and had given Thrasea the appellation of *Holy;* and Herennius Senecio, because, although he lived many years after serving the office of Quæstor, he solicited no other post, and because he had written the Life of Helvidius Priscus.' With less accuracy, Suetonius, in his *Life of Domitian* s. 10. says:—'He put to death Junius Rusticus, because he had published the Panegyrics of Pætus Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus, and had styled them *most holy persons;* and on this occasion he expelled all the Philosophers from the city and from Italy.' Arulenus Rusticus was a Stoic: on which account he was contumeliously called by M. Regulus 'the ape of the Stoics, marked with the Vitellian scar.' Plin. *Ep.* 1, 5. Thrasea, who killed Nero, is particularly recorded in Tacitus's *Annals* Bk. 16." Dr. Aikin (from Brotier.)

[4] "*Sapientiæ professoribus.*

usquam honestum occurreret. Dedimus profectò grande patientiæ documentum: et sicut vetus ætas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate esset; ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostrâ potestate esset oblivisci, quàm tacere.

3. Nunc demum redit animus: et quanquam, primo statim beatissimi sæculi[1] ortu, Nerva Cæsar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque quotidie felicitatem imperii Nerva Trajanus, nec spem modò ac votum securitas publica,[2] sed ipsius voti fiduciam, ac robur adsumpserit: naturâ tamen infirmitatis humanæ, tardiora sunt remedia, quàm mala; et ut corpora lentè augescunt, citò exstinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris faciliùs, quàm revocaveris. Subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiæ dulcedo: et invisa primò desidia, postremò amatur. Quid si, per quindecim annos,[3] grande mortalis ævi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque sævitiâ Principis interciderunt? Pauci, et, ut ita dixerim, non modò aliorum, sed etiam nostrî superstites sumus; exemptis è mediâ vitâ tot annis, quibus juvenes ad senectutem, senes propè ad ipsos exactæ ætatis terminos per silentium venimus: non tamen pigebit, vel inconditâ ac rudi voce, memoriam prioris servitutis, ac testimonium præsentium bonorum composuisse.[4] Hic

Philosophis omnibus, quos *Urbe Italiâque submovit* Domitianus, ut dictum est supra.

[1] "*Beatissimi sæculi.* Beatissimum quidem exortum est sæculum, cùm post Domitiani tempora, ejusque actis rescissis, A. U. C. 849. imperare cœpit Nerva, cujus virtutes Trajanus, Hadrianus, et uterque Antoninus æmulati sunt." Brotier.

[2] "*Securitas publica.* SECURITAS PVBLICA, quæ et ore hominum ferebatur, et numis inscribebatur, olim spem tantùm ac votum exprimebat, nunc verò Nervâ Principe, adoptatoque Trajano, habet ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur." Brotier.

[3] "*Per quindecim annos.* Quibus imperavit Domitianus." Brotier.

[4] "*Composuisse.* Tunc enim non modo *Historiarum Annaliumque* libros, memoriam prioris servitutis, sed et Nervæ Trajanique res, testimonium præsentium bonorum, scribere meditabatur Tac." Brotier.

interim liber honori Agricolæ, soceri mei, destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit, aut excusatus.

4. Cnæus Julius Agricola, veteri et illustri Forojuliensium coloniâ ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Cæsarum habuit: quæ equestris nobilitas est: pater Julius Græcinus[1] senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiæ sapientiæque notus, iisque virtutibus iram Caii Cæsaris meritus. Namque Marcum Silanum accusare jussus, et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. Mater Julia Procilla fuit, raræ castitatis: in hujus sinu indulgentiâque[2] educatus, per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit. Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, præter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quòd statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuerit, locum Græcâ comitate et provinciali parcimoniâ mistum, ac bene compositum. Memoriâ teneo, solitum ipsum narrare, "se in primâ juventâ studium philosophiæ acriùs, ultra quàm concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coercuisset:" scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium, pulchritudinem ac speciem excelsæ magnæque gloriæ vehementiùs, quàm cautè, appetebat: mox mitigavit ratio et ætas: retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientiâ modum.[3]

5. Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britanniâ Suetonio Paullino, diligenti ac moderato duci, adprobavit: electus,

[1] "*Julius Græcinus.* *Julius Græcinus*, teste Senecâ *Ep.* 29. *vir egregius.* Idem *de Benef.* 2, 21.:—*Si exemplo magni animi opus est, utamur Græcini Julii, viri egregii, quem Caius Cæsar occidit ob hoc unum, quod melior vir erat, quam esse quemquam tyranno expediret.* Ejus volumina *de Vineis* laudant Colum. I, 1. Plin. 14, 2. 16, 44. Numum Buthrotiorum, nunc *Butrinto*, in Epiro, protulit Cl. Pellerin, *Recueil de Médailles de Peuples et de Villes*, 1, 82. Tab. XII. n. 5. inscriptum: I. GRAECINUS. QVIN. PER. id est, *Julius Græcinus, Quinquennalis perpetuus.* Incertum tamen utrùm ad Jul. Græcinum, Agricolæ patrem, pertineat." Brotier.

[2] "*In hujus sinu indulgentiâque.* De hâc optimâ institutione vide Dial. *de Orat.* 28." Brotier.

[3] "*Ex sapientiâ modum.* Summæ et perfectæ sapientiæ est, vel in ipsâ sapientiâ retinere modum. Quanto meliora sunt, quæ appetimus, tanto difficilior modus." Brotier.

quem contubernio[1] æstimaret. Nec Agricola licenter, more juvenum, qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter, ad voluptates et commeatus,[2] titulum tribunatûs et inscitiam retulit: sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere à peritis, sequi optimos, nihil appetere jactatione, nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque et anxius et intentus agere. Non sanè aliàs exercitatior, magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit: trucidati veterani, incensæ coloniæ, intersepti exercitus: tum de salute, mox de victoriâ certavere. Quæ cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur, ac summa rerum, et reciperatæ provinciæ gloria in ducem cessit; artem et usum et stimulos addidere juveni: intravitque animum militaris gloriæ cupido, ingrata temporibus,[3] quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio, nec minus periculum ex magnâ famâ, quàm ex malâ.

6. Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in Urbem digressus, Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi junxit: idque matrimonium ad majora nitenti decus

[1] "*Contubernio.* Optimæ spei juvenes à ducibus in contubernium adsumti; sic fermè apud nos *Aides de Camp.* Jul. Cæsar *stipendia prima in Asiâ fecit, Marci Thermi prætoris contubernio,* Suet. in *Jul. Cæs.* II." Brotier. "*Pro filio habitus:* refer ad consuetudinem et convictum vitæ quotidianæ, aut militiæ contubernium: erat moris, ut nobiles adolescentes tirocinium agerent apud aliquem e præcipuis amicorum; sed Hadrianus præter ceterorum morem in contubernio Trajani permansit etiam ἀνδρωθείς: Dionis abbreviator, Τὸ σύμπαν συνῆν αὐτῷ καὶ συνδιητᾶτο." I. Casaub. *Hist. Aug. Scrr.* p. 9.

[2] "*Commeatus.* Jejune et imperite Boxh. explicat per excursiones militum promiscuas et non necessarias; nam *commeatus* nihil est aliud, quam venia et jus absentiæ a signis concessæ ducum, per causam quamcunque. Sic et *Hist.* 1, 46. *Pars manipuli sparsa per commeatus:*" [*Ann.* 15, 10. *Quintam legionem procul habebat, reliquas promiscuis militum commeatibus infirmaverat.* Liv. 3, 46. 33, 29. Vellei. 2, 11.] "Donat. ad Ter. *Hecyram* 1, 2, 100. *Commeatus est ex aliqua commoratione temporalis abscessus.* Cic. in *Verr.* 5, 43. *Qui propter gravem morbum oculorum tum non navigarit, et jussu ejus, qui potestatem habuit, cum commeatu Syracusis remanserit.* Veget. et leges constitutionesque Romanæ passim." Gron.

[3] "*Temporibus.* Qualia tunc erant Neronis tempora." Brotier.

ac robur fuit: vixeruntque mirâ concordiâ, per mutuam caritatem, et invicem se anteponendo, nisi quod in bonâ uxore tantò major laus,[1] quantò in malâ plus culpæ est. Sors quæsturæ provinciam Asiam, proconsulem Salvium Titianum dedit; quorum neutro corruptus est: quanquam et provincia dives, ac parata peccantibus, et proconsul, in omnem aviditatem pronus, quantâlibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali. Auctus est ibi filiâ, in subsidium simul et solatium: nam filium, antè sublatum,[2] brevì amisit. Mox inter quæsturam, ac tribunatum plebis, atque etiam ipsum tribunatûs annum quiete et otio transit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientiâ fuit. Idem præturæ tenor, et silentium: nec enim jurisdictio obvenerat. Ludos, et inania honoris, modo rationis atque abundantiæ duxit, utì longè à luxuriâ, ita famæ propior. Tum electus à Galbâ ad dona templorum recognoscenda, diligentissimâ conquisitione fecit, ne cujus alterius sacrilegium respublica, quàm Neronis sensisset.

7. Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque ejus adflixit: nam classis Othoniana, licenter vaga, dum Intemelios, (Liguriæ pars est,) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolæ in prædiis suis interfecit: prædiaque ipsa, et magnam patrimonii partem, diripuit, quæ causa cædis fuerat. Igitur ad sollemnia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio affectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus, ac statim in partes transgressus est. Initia principatûs, ac statum Urbis Mucianus regebat, admodum juvene Domitiano, et ex paternâ fortunâ tantùm licentiam usurpante. Is missum ad delectus agendos Agricolam, integrèque ac strenuè versatum, vicesimæ legioni tarde ad sacramentum transgressæ præposuit, ubi decessor seditiosè

[1] "*Tanto major laus.* Iis maximè sæculis, quibus profligati sunt mores, et fœminis quævis audere licet, in bonâ uxore tanto major laus, quanto in malâ plus culpæ est." Brotier.

[2] "*Sublatum.* Antè susceptum sublatumque è terrâ, in quâ nudâ nudi infantes Romani, recens nati, deponebantur, Plin. VII. in *Præf.* n. 1. Suet. *Aug.*" Brotier.

agere narrabatur: quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia[1] ac formidolosa erat. Nec legatus prætorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum suo an militum ingenio: ita successor simul et ultor electus, rarissimâ moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos, quàm fecisse.

8. Præerat tunc Britanniæ Vettius Bolanus, placidiùs, quàm feroci provinciâ dignum est: temperavit Agricola vim suam, ardoremque compescuit, ne incresceret; peritus obsequi, eruditusque utilia honestis miscere. Brevì deinde Britannia consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. Habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum.[2] Sed primò Cerialis labores modò et discrimina; mox et gloriam communicabat: sæpe parti exercitûs in experimentum, aliquando majoribus copiis ex eventu præfecit: nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis exsultavit; ad auctorem et ducem, ut minister, fortunam referebat: ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundiâ in prædicando, extra invidiam, nec extra gloriam erat.

9. Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasi-

[1] *Nimia.* "*Nimium jam liberæ reip.*: Liv. 3, 9. *Maxime in consulare imperium, tanquam nimium, nec tolerabile liberæ civitati, invehebatur.* Tac. *Hist.* 3, 52. *Quippe nimius jam Antonius,*" [4, 23, 4. *Præferoces initio, et rebus secundis nimii.*] "Quam elegantissimam loquendi rationem copiose illustrarunt Interprr. ad Liv. 6, 11. et quos laudat Burm. ad h. l. *Nimius* cum dativo etiam jungit Sil. 15, 708. *gelido nunc flumine soles Frangebat nimios pecori.*" Ruhnk. ad Vell. Paterc. 2, 32. "*Nimius homo,* qui modum non servat, Cic. *Ep. ad Brut.* 15. *Quod in honoribus decernendis essem nimius et tanquam prodigus,* Sallust. *Fr.* ap. Arusian. Mess, *Post, ubi fiducia nimius.* Vell. (l. c.) *Nimium jam liberæ reip.*, h. e. onerosum, gravem, impotentem, Flor. 3, 15. *Jam nimius et potens altero tribunatu,* Horat. *Od.* 2, 12, 5. *Nec sævos Lapithas, et nimium mero Hylæum.*" Forcellin. *Lex. totius Latin.*

[2] "*Spatium exemplorum.* Hactenus in brevi tribunatu militum, in tribunatu plebis et præturâ, muneribus annuis quiete et otio transigendis, vix fuerat virtutibus locus, certè non fuit spatium exemplorum. At cum Agricola per quadriennium legatus fuit legionis vicesimæ, habuit spatium depromendi virtutes suas in exemplum præsentis ætatis et pòst futuræ, ut rectè exp. illustr. Huetius." Brotier.

anus inter patricios adscivit, ac deinde provinciæ Aquitaniæ præposuit, splendidæ in primis dignitatis, administratione ac spe consulatûs, cui destinârat. Credunt plerique militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse, quia castrensis jurisdictio secura et obtusior,[1] ac plura manu agens, calliditatem fori non exerceat. Agricola naturali prudentiâ, quamvis inter togatos, facilè justèque agebat; jam verò tempora curarum remissionumque divisa; ubi conventus ac judicia poscerent, gravis, intentus, severus, et sæpius misericors; ubi officio satisfactum, nulla ultrà potestatis persona; tristitiam, et arrogantiam,[2] et avaritiam exuerat; nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem,[3] aut severitas amorem deminuit. Integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre, injuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam quidem, cui etiam sæpe boni indulgent, ostentandâ virtute, aut per artem quæsivit: procul ab æmulatione adversùs collegas, procul à contentione adversùs procuratores: et vincere inglorium, et atteri sordidum[4] arbitrabatur. Minùs triennium in eâ

[1] "*Secura et obtusior.* Quia paucis et perspicuis legibus utitur, fori ambagibus minimè intricata." Br.

[2] "*Tristitiam, et arrogantiam.* Tristitia, arrogantia, avaritia, quandòque vitia præsidibus judicibusque solita. Tristitiam affert morositas; arrogantiam potestas; avaritiam cupiditas, vel ipsa corrumpentium ars. Quæ adversùs vitia sapientissimè cautum legibus Romanis, ut videre est in *Digest.* L. I. Tit. 16. de officio proconsulis et legati. Agricolam vero ita commendat Tacitus, ut ne ipsa quidem justitiæ species, quam à pictoribus adumbratam laudat Gellius, 14, 4. sit pulchrior." Br.

[3] "*Facilitas auctoritatem.* Id maximè cavebant leges Romanæ, ut patet ex *Digest.* L. I. Tit. 18. de officio præsidis, Leg. 19. ex Callistrato:—'Observandum est jus reddenti, ut in adeundo quidem facilem se præbeat, sed contemni non patiatur: unde mandatis adjicitur, ne præsides provinciarum in ulteriorem familiaritatem provinciales admittant: nam ex conversatione æquali contemtio dignitatis nascitur—Summatim ita jus reddi debet, ut auctoritatem dignitatis ingenio suo augeat.'" Br.

[4] "*Atteri sordidum.* Vincere collegas, vicinarum nempe provinciarum rectores, inglorium, à procuratoribus atteri sordidum arbitrabatur." Br.

legatione detentus, ac statim ad spem consulatûs revocatus est, comitante opinione Britanniam ei provinciam dari : nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur. Haud semper errat fama, aliquando et eligit. Consul egregiæ tum spei filiam juveni mihi despondit, ac post consulatum collocavit, et statim Britanniæ præpositus est, adjecto pontificatûs sacerdotio.

10. Britanniæ situm populosque, multis scriptoribus memoratos, non in comparationem curæ ingeniive referam ; sed quia tum primùm perdomita est : itaqu equæ priores nondum comperta, eloquentiâ percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia, insularum, quas Romana notitia complectitur, maxima, spatio ac cœlo in Orientem Germaniæ, in Occidentem Hispaniæ obtenditur : Gallis in Meridiem etiam inspicitur : Septemtrionalia ejus, nullis contrà terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. Formam totius Britanniæ Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium, eloquentissimi auctores, oblongæ scutulæ vel bipenni adsimulavere : et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universum fama est transgressa : sed immensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo jam littore terrarum, velut in cuneum tenuatur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primùm Romana classis circumvecta, insulam esse Britanniam adfirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit, domuitque : dispecta est et Thule,[1] quam

[1] *Dispecta est et Thule.* "Cleomedes says, 'that at the Island Thule, where they say the Philosopher, Pytheas of Marseilles, was, it is reported that the summer tropick is intirely above the horizon, and that to the inhabitants there, the same is their arctick circle.' Where Thule lay, is not agreed among authors : Virgil, in compliment to Augustus Cæsar, asks him among other particulars relating to his heavenly condition, *An Deus immensi venias maris, ac tua nautæ Numina sola colant? tibi serviat ultima Thule:* by the term *ultima Thule*, it seems as if this was the farthest part of the known world westward in the Augustan age. Let the globe be rectified according to the circumstances just related from Cleomedes, and let the summer tropick be made the polar circle, according to the doctrine of the ancients, it will appear that Thule lay in 66 deg.

hactenus nix et hiems abdebat: sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus perhibent: ne ventis quidem perinde attolli: credo quòd rariores terræ montesque, causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris tardiùs impellitur.[1] Naturam Oceani atque æstûs neque quærere hujus operis est, ac multi retulere: unum addiderim, nusquam latiùs dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec littore tenus accrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et jugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

11. Ceterum, Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii; atque ex eo argumenta: namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem adseverant. Silurum colorati vultus, et torti plerumque crines, et posita contrà Hispania, Iberos veteres trajecisse, easque sedes occupâsse fidem faciunt: proximi Gallis, et similes

30. min. of north latitude, and therefore was probably Iceland. This is said upon observation that the Thule of the ancients was an Island, but Strabo says p. 175. that Pytheas only called Thule 'the most northern of the British parts,' without mentioning whether it was an Island, or not. If this be true, then Thule may have only been the northern extremity of Scotland. Neither the observations of the ancients were made with great exactness, nor the relations of them delivered with a preciseness to be depended on. The refractions in northern countries are very great, and elevate the sun and moon when near the horizon; but Pytheas was acquainted with this, so that the elevation of the pole at Thule might not have been so great as 66 deg. 30 min." G. Costard's *History of Astronomy* p. 16.

[1] *Tardius impellitur.* "As far asthe meaning of this passage can be elucidated, it would appear as if the first circumnavigators of Britain, to enhance the idea of their dangers and hardships, had represented the Northern Sea as in such a thickened half solid state, that the oars could scarcely be worked, or the water agitated by winds. Tac., however, rather chooses to explain its stagnant condition from the want of winds, and the difficulty of moving so great a body of waters. But the fact, taken either way, is erroneous; as this Sea is never observed frozen, and is remarkably stormy and tempestuous." Dr. Aikin.

sunt: seu durante originis vi; seu, procurrentibus in diversa terris, positio cœli corporibus habitum dedit: in universum tamen æstimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupâsse, credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasione: sermo haud multùm diversus: in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia; et, ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido: plus tamen ferociæ Britanni præferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit: nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus: mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissâ virtute pariter ac libertate: quod Britannorum olim victis evenit: ceteri manent, quales Galli fuerunt.

12. In pedite robur: quædam nationes et curru prœliantur: honestior auriga, clientes propugnant: olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur: nec aliud adversùs validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius, quàm quòd in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus, ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus: ita, dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. Cœlum crebris imbribus ac nebulis fœdum: asperitas frigorum abest. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram:[1] nox clara, et extremâ Britanniæ parte brevis,[2] ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. "Quòd si nubes non officiant, aspici per noctem Solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere, sed transire" adfirmant: scilicet extrema et plana terrarum,[3] humili umbrâ, non erigunt tene-

[1] "*Nostri orbis mensuram.* Sic quoque Plin. 2, 75. longissimus dies *in Italiâ horarum quindecim: in Britanniâ septemdecim, ubi æstate lucidæ noctes.*" Br.

[2] "*Brevis.* Certè Solstitio in extremâ Britanniæ parte, ubi polus elevatur gradibus 50½, nox clara est et brevissima, ita ut vel per noctem aspiciatur Solis fulgor. Unde Solem, non occidere et exsurgere, sed transire adfirmabant." Br.

[3] "*Extrema et plana terrarum.* Hæc ex Tacito descripsit Eumenius in Panegyrico Constantini, cap. 6. Vide Testimonia Veterum. Sed errat Tacitus, cùm rationem crepusculi in Britanniâ repetit ex eo, quòd Britannia sit extrema terrarum ac plana; quæ proinde humilem umbram, non verò tenebras erigat: unde nox cadit infra

bras,[1] infraque cœlum et sidera nox cadit. Solum, præter

cœlum et sidera, eorumque lux fulgore Solis hebetatur. At nec Britannia est terrarum extrema, nec ex ejus planicie, sed ex Solis infra horizontem depressione, et vaporum naturâ, crepusculi ratio repetenda est, ut ex Astronomicis principiis constat." Br. The words are thus translated by Dr. Aikin:—"The cause of this is that the extreme and flat parts of the earth casting a low shadow do not elevate the darkness, and night falls beneath the sky and the stars." He has the following Note:—"The words of the Author are here rendered as exactly as possible; but it is difficult to say upon what astronomical principles any sense can be made of the passage. The real cause of this phænomenon is now well known to all astronomers." "A place in mine opinion very hard to be well understood, or at least, made good. For he seemeth to say, that the extream parts of the world being plain, the night therefore is nothing, or short, which importeth as much, as if the night were nothing else, but when the sun hideth itself behind some mountain or other. Or else, that albeit the earth toward the midst was globous and bossed, yet was it toward the poles flattish and plain. Very vulgar conceits in so great a man, and yet in the text, *Infra cœlum et sidera nox cadit:* by *nox* is meant, I suppose, *umbra terræ*, as out of the bowels of the earth; and the lowness of the shadow projected is the cause of the shortness of the nights. But the lowness proceedeth not neither of mountain, nor plain, but because the sun in the summer season runneth his course almost all above ground in those countrys towards the poles, and when it doth set, by reason of the inclination of his circle to the *Horizon*, descendeth not directly, but passeth obliquely rising as it were under their *Horizon*. Yet one of the Panegyrists (p. 237.) as though *Tac.* had delivered us here matter worthy of imitation, hath taken the pains to assume this high point of learning *ad verbum* into his oration." Sir H. Savile's *Annotations*, in the *Works of Cornelius Tacitus made English by several Hands*, 3, 109.

[1] *Non erigunt tenebras.* "Lucr. 5, 1453. *Sic unum quidquid paullatim protrahit ætas In medium, ratioque in luminis erigit oras.* Sic legit Gron. ex Ms. optimo Vossii τοῦ πολυμαθεστάτου, utroque in loco: pessime vulgares Edd. pro *erigit* habent *eruit*. Est autem *erigere* idem quod *tollere, et in lucis auras producere.* Ita Sil. Ital. 2, 658. *erigit atro Undantem fumo rogus alta ad sidera nubem,* quod ex Virg. desumsit, *Æn.* 3, 576. de Ætna, *Erigit eructans liquefactaque saxa sub auras.* Tac. *Hist.* 5, 6. *Præcipuum montium Libanum erigit, mirum dictu, tantos inter ardores opacum fi-*

oleam vitemque, et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum,[1] fecundum: tardè mitescunt, citò proveniunt: eademque utriusque rei causa, multus humor terrarum, cœlique. Fert Britannia aurum, et argentum, et alia metalla, pretium victoriæ: gignit et Oceanus margarita, sed subfusca ac liventia. Quidam artem abesse legentibus arbitrantur, nam in rubro mari viva ac spirantia saxis avelli, in Britanniâ, prout expulsa sint, colligi: ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse, quàm nobis avaritiam.

13. Ipsi Britanni delectum, ac tributa, et injuncta imperii munera impigrè obeunt, si injuriæ absint: has ægrè tolerant, jam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant. Igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Julius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prosperâ pugnâ terruerit incolas, ac littore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia, et in rempublicam versa Principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniæ etiam in pace. "Consilium" id divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius "præceptum." Agitâsse Caium Cæsarem de intrandâ Britanniâ satis constat, ni velox ingenio, mobilis pœnitentiâ, et ingentes adversùs Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. Divus Claudius auctor operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque, et adsumto in partem rerum Vespasiano: quod initium venturæ mox fortunæ fuit: domitæ gentes, capti reges, et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.

dumque nivibus." Fr. Besselii *Misc. Philol. Cr. Syntagma* p. 12.

[1] *Cœlique.* "Mr. Pennant has a pleasing remark concerning the soil and climate of our Island, well agreeing with that of Tac.:—'The climate of Great Britain is above all others productive of the greatest variety and abundance of wholesome vegetables, which, to crown our happiness, are almost equally diffused through all its parts. This general fertility is owing to those clouded skies, which foreigners mistakingly urge as a reproach on our country; but let us cheerfully endure a temporary gloom, which clothes not only our meadows, but our hills with the richest verdure.' *Brit. Zool.* 1, 15." Dr. Aikin.

14. Consularium primus Aulus Plautius præpositus, ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius: redactaque paullatim in formam provinciæ proxima pars Britanniæ: addita insuper veteranorum colonia: quædam civitates Cogiduno regi donatæ, (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit,) vetere ac jam pridem receptâ populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodùm castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quæ fama aucti officii quæreretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque intrà annum exstinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paullinus biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus, firmatisque præsidiis: quorum fiduciâ Monam insulam, ut vires rebellibus ministrantem, adgressus, terga occasioni patefecit.

15. Namque absentiâ legati remoto metu, Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre injurias, et interpretando accendere. "Nihil profici patientiâ, nisi ut graviora, tamquam ex facili tolerantibus, imperentur: singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi; è quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona sæviret: æquè discordiam præpositorum, æquè[1] concor-

[1] *Æque concordiam.* "Leg. puto *atque.* Anaphoræ nullus hic locus est: ne tamen quis mihi objiciat versum Horatii *Epist.* 1, 1, 25. *Quod æque pauperibus prodest, locupletibus æque, Æque neglectum pueris senibusque nocebit,* argumenta satis gravia me commovent, ut totum illum versum ab aliena manu illatum, rei absonum et verbis ineptis interpolatum censeam. Etiam in hoc loco Interpretes vim vocis *æque* intendunt." Fr. Hand. ad J. Fr. Gronov. *Diatr. in Statii Silv.* 4, 3. p. 411. Certain it is that *æque, atque,* or *ac,* is Ciceronian and pure Latin, and that *æque quam* is used, as Forcellinus observes, in Writers subsequent to the time of Cic., and it is no inconsiderable argument in favour of Handius's conjecture that neither B. Faber, nor Forcellinus, nor Gesner have cited in their Dictionaries any other passages, where *æque* is thus doubled, except the passages of Horace and Tac., of which Handius deems the one to be spurious, and the other to be corrupt. But, after all, the conjecture has been anticipated:—"*Æque, æque* rarissimum est. *Æque* repetitur interdum. Tac. *Hist.* 7, 4. *Eadem novæ aulæ mala, æque gravia, non æque excusata: Agric.* 15. (Pri-

diam subjectis exitiosam: alterius manus,[1] centuriones alterius, vim et contumelias miscere: nihil jam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum: in prœlio fortiorem esse,

mum exemplum est alienum; in altero est anaphora non elegantissima: nisi forte etiam leg. *Æque discordiam—atque concordiam.* Itaque aliena hæc observatiuncula ab hujus libelli consilio.)" Tursellini *de Partic. Lat. Orat. Libellus*, Ed. Lipsiæ 1769. p. 49. See too Reinesii et Bosii *Epist.* 78.

[1] "*Alterius manus, centuriones alterius, vim et contumelias miscere:* ita fidenter aio scr. esse: *manus* intellige *procuratoris*, centuriones legati; utrique autem vim et contumelias miscebant. ['Gronovium omnes editores sequuti sunt; ante eum legebatur, *alterius manus centurionis; alterius vim* etc.' Hand.] Per *manus* deberent intelligi et servi procuratoris cohorsque ejus, et geminus his locus est *Ann.* 14, 31., *Rex Icenorum Prasutagus longa opulentia clarus Cæsarem hæredem duasque filias scripserat, tali obsequio ratus regnum et domum suam procul injuria fore; quod contra vertit, adeo ut regnum per centuriones, domus per servos velut capta vastarentur.* Cic. L. 2, 10. 30. *in Verr.* quanquam de Prætore agens, sublimiore potestate, egregie tamen hæc illustrat:—*Comites illi tui delecti manus erant tuæ: præfecti, scribæ, medici, accensi, haruspices, præcones manus erant tuæ; quo quisque te maxime cognatione, affinitate, necessitudine aliqua attingebat, ita maxime manus tua putabatur: cohors tota illa tua, quæ plus mali Siciliæ dedit, quam si centum cohortes fugitivorum fuissent, tua manus sine controversia fuit.* Et deinde manus militum, quibus illi, excedentes modum potestatis a Cæsare concessæ, per conniventiam legatorum utebantur ad libidinem suam: sic *Ann.* 4, 15. *Adeo ut procurator Asiæ Lucillius Capito accusante provincia causam dixerit, magna cum adseveratione principis, non se jus nisi in servitia et pecunias familiares dedisse: quod si vim prætoris usurpasset, manibusque militum usus foret, spreta in eo mandata sua.* Ita de Judæis et Samaritis 12, 54. *Aliquando præliis congredi, spoliaque et prædas ad procuratores referre: hique primo lætari, mox gliscente pernicie cum arma militum interjecissent, cæsique milites etc.* Etiam Hadrianus Cæsar, legatus tum prætorius, in Pannoniam inferiorem missus ab Trajano disciplinam militarem tenuisse, *procuratores latius evagantes coercuisse* dicitur Ælio Spartiano. De centurionum impatientia conqueritur etiam Civilis, *Hist.* 4, 14. *Quando legatum gravi quidem comitatu et superbo cum imperio venire? tradi se præfectis centurionibusque, quos, ubi spoliis et sanguine expleverint, mutari.* Puto nunc omnia in Tac. clarissima esse etiam mediocriter doctis, ubi summis olim viris Cimmeriæ tenebræ." J. Fr. Gronov. l. c.

qui spoliet: nunc ab ignavis plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, injungi delectus, tamquam mori tantùm pro patriâ nescientibus: quantulum enim transîsse militum, si sese Britanni numerent? sic Germanias excussisse jugum; et flumine, non Oceano, defendi: sibi patriam, conjuges, parentes, illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas belli esse: recessuros, ut divus Julius recessisset, modò virtutes majorum suorum æmularentur; neve prœlii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent: plus impetûs, majorem constantiam penes miseros esse. Jam Britannorum etiam Deos misereri, qui Romanum ducem absentem, qui relegatum in aliâ insulâ exercitum detinerent: jam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, deliberare: porrò in ejusmodi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi, quàm audere."

16. His atque talibus invicem instincti, Boudiceâ, generis regii feminâ, duce, (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt,) sumsere universi bellum: ac sparsos per castella milites consectati, expugnatis præsidiis, ipsam coloniam invasere, ut sedem servitutis: nec ullum in barbaris sævitiæ genus omisit ira et victoria. Quòd nisi Paullinus, cognito provinciæ motu, properè subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret: quam unius prœlii fortuna veteri patientiæ restituit, tenentibus arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis, et propiùs ex legato timor agitabat. Hic cùm egregius cetera, arroganter in deditos, et, ut suæ quoque injuriæ ultor, duriùs consuleret; missus Petronius Turpilianus, tamquam exorabilior: et delictis hostium novus, eoque pœnitentiæ mitior, compositis prioribus, nihil ultra ausus, Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius segnior et nullis castrorum experimentis, comitate quâdam curandi provinciam tenuit. Didicere jam barbari quoque ignoscere vitiis blandientibus: et interventus civilium armorum præbuit justam segnitiæ excusationem: sed discordiâ laboratum, cùm adsuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebellius, fugâ ac latebris vitatâ exercitûs irâ, indecorus atque humilis, precariò mox præfuit: ac velut pacti, exercitus licen-

tiam, dux salutem: hæc seditio sine sanguine stetit. Nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplinâ. Eadem inertia erga hostes, similis petulantia castrorum: nisi quòd innocens Bolanus, et nullis delictis invisus, caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

17. Sed ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam reciperavit; magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes: et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantum civitatem, quæ numerosissima provinciæ totius perhibetur, adgressus: multa prœlia, et aliquando non incruenta: magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoriâ amplexus, aut bello. Et cùm Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset, sustinuit quoque molem Julius Frontinus, vir magnus, quantùm licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit; super virtutem hostium, locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

18. Hunc Britanniæ statum, has bellorum vices mediâ jam æstate transgressus Agricola invenit, cùm et milites, velut omissâ expeditione, ad securitatem, et hostes ad occasionem verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multò ante adventum ejus, alam, in finibus suis agentem, propè universam obtriverat: eoque initio erecta provincia, et quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum, aut recentis legati animum opperiri. Tum Agricola, quamquam transacta æstas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, præsumpta apud militem illius anni quies, tarda et contraria bellum inchoaturo, et plerisque custodiri suspecta potiùs videbatur, ire obviàm discrimini statuit: contractisque legionum vexillis et modicâ auxiliorum manu, quia in æquum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quò ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem: cæsâque propè universâ gente, non ignarus instandum famæ, ac, prout prima cessissent, fore universa; Monam insulam, cujus possessione revocatum Paullinum rebellione totius Britanniæ suprà memoravi, redigere in potestatem animo in-

tendit. Sed, ut in dubiis consiliis, naves deerant: ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis, lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada, et patrius nandi usus, quo simul seque, et arma, et equos regunt, ita repentè immisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui naves, qui mare expectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita petitâ pace, ac deditâ insulâ, clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola: quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem, aut officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset. Nec Agricola, prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat, victos continuisse: ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est: sed ipsâ dissimulatione famæ famam auxit, æstimantibus quantâ futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

19. Ceterum animorum provinciæ prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta, parùm profici armis, si injuriæ sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit exscindere. A se suisque orsus, primam domum suam coercuit; quod plerisque haud minùs arduum est, quàm provinciam regere. Nihil per libertos servosque publicæ rei: non studiis privatis, nec ex commendatione, aut precibus centurionum milites adscire, sed optimum quemque fidelissimum putare: omnia scire, non omnia exsequi:[1] par-

[1] "*Exsequi.* Omnia scire, non omnia punire. Sic Julius Cæsar, ap. Suet. *Jul.* 67. *Delicta neque observabat omnia, neque pro modo exsequebatur: sed desertorum ac seditiosorum inquisitor, et punitor acerrimus, connivebat in ceteris.*" Br. "*Exequi*, punire, ulcisci, ait Lips. Casaub. et alii, et sic h. v. utuntur Suet. et Seneca; sed mea quidem sententia non hoc voluit Tac. *Exequi* h. l. id ei significat, cum, qui scit delictum, id simul producit in judicium, examinat, dispicit quid mereatur: id quod potest fieri, etiamsi nulla subsequatur pœna, uti liquet exemplo Augusti ac Cinnæ, de quo Seneca *de Clem.* 1, 9. Opponit nempe inter se *τὸ scire* et *non exequi;* at opposita non sunt *scire* et *non punire*, sed *scire* et *scientiam illam dissimulare*, vel *simulare se non scire:* ergo non de pœna loquitur, sed de scientiæ dissimulatione, quod et inde patet, quia quod de pœna fuit dicendum, in sequentibus demum subditur. Hoc ergo

vis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare: nec pœnâ semper, sed sæpiùs pœnitentiâ contentus esse: officiis et administrationibus potiùs non peccaturos præponere, quàm damnare, cùm peccâssent. Frumenti et tributorum auctionem æqualitate munerum mollire, circumcisis, quæ in quæstum reperta, ipso tributo graviùs tolerabantur: namque per ludibrium adsidere clausis horreis, et emere ultro frumenta, ac vendere pretio cogebantur: devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates à proximis hibernis in remota et avia deferrent, donec, quod omnibus in promtu erat, paucis lucrosum fieret.

20. Hæc primo statim anno comprimendo, egregiam famam paci circumdedit; quæ vel incuriâ, vel tolerantiâ priorum, haud minùs quàm bellum timebatur. Sed ubi æstas advenit, contracto exercitu, multus in agmine, laudare modestiam, disjectos coercere: loca castris ipse capere, æstuaria[1] ac silvas ipse prætentare: et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quominùs subitis excursibus popularetur: atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rur-

vult Tac., Agricolam curasse quidem, ut sciret omnia, quæ committerent sui, sed sæpe ignorantiam præ se tulisse, cum non excusat, non examinat, non delicti fœditatem punit ante oculos eorum, sed dissimulando transmittit. Sed quamobrem hoc Agricola? ne aut non pro delicto habere talia, aut suos pro iis non punire velle, et sic licentiam eorum facere videretur; nam qui novisse delictum scitur, idque penitus transmittit, non potest non vel in injuriæ, vel in negligentiæ suspicionem venire: quare ne hoc fiat, scientia illa sæpe dissimulanda est, ne assiduitate sua pœnæ ac supplicia vilescant. Sopater ap. Stob. *Serm.* 43.:—*Parva quidem et vulgaria peccata dissimulentur; nec enim conducit, et quælibet et omnia simpliciter punire, neque cognoscentem negligere.*" Schefler in *Misc. Obs. in Auctt. vett. et rec.* V. 9. T. 3. p. 350.

[1] "*Æstuaria.* The expressive term *estuary* has been frequently used in its Latin signification by Mr. Pennant, to signify *the wide mouths of rivers, which are fordable or very shallow at low water,* but resemble arms of the sea at high tides. Such, on the Western coast, are those of *the Dee, the Mersey, the Ribble, Morecambe-Bay,* and *Solway-Frith.*" Dr. Aikin.

sus inritamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multæ civitates, quæ in illum diem ex æquo egerant, datis obsidibus, iram posuere, et præsidiis castellisque circumdatæ, tantâ ratione curâque, ut nulla antè Britanniæ nova pars inlacessita transierit.

21. Sequens hyems saluberrimis consiliis absumta: namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes, eòque bellofaciles, quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent; hortari privatim, adjuvare publicè, ut templa, fora, domus exstruerent, laudando promptos, et castigando segnes: ita honoris æmulatio pro necessitate erat. Jam verò principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modò linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent: inde etiam habitûs nostri honor, et frequens toga: paullatimque dscessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus, et balnea, et conviviorum elegantiam: idque apud imperitos "humanitas" vocabatur, cùm pars servitutis esset.

22. Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad Taum, (æstuario nomen est,) nationibus: quâ formidine territi hostes, quamquam conflictatum sævis tempestatibus exercitum, lacessere non ausi: ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Adnotabant periti, non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientiùs legisse: nullum ab Agricolâ positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum, aut pactione ac fugâ desertum. Crebræ eruptiones: nam adversùs moras obsidionis, annuis copiis firmabantur: ita intrepida ibi hyems, et sibi quisque præsidio, inritis hostibus, eòque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna æstatis hibernis eventibus pensare, tum æstate atque hyeme juxtà pellebantur. Nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit: seu centurio, seu præfectus, incorruptum facti testem habebat. Apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur: ut erat bonis comis, ita adversùs malos injucundus: ceterùm ex iracundiâ nihil supererat: secretum et silentium ejus non timeres: honestius putabat offendere, quàm odisse.

23. Quarta æstas obtinendis, quæ percurrerat, in-

sumta: ac si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsâ Britanniâ terminus. Nam Clota et Bodotria, diversi maris æstibus per immensum revectæ, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur: quod tum præsidiis firmabatur: atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

24. Quinto expeditionum anno, nave prima[1] transgressus, ignotas ad id tempus gentes crebris simul ac prosperis prœliis domuit: eamque partem Britanniæ, quæ Hiberniam aspicit, copiis instruxit, in spem magis, quàm ob formidinem: siquidem Hibernia, medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita, et Gallico quoque mari opportuna, valentissimam imperii partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium ejus, si Britanniæ comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum cœlumque, et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multùm à Britanniâ differunt: meliùs aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domesticâ unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitiæ in occasionem retinebat. Sæpe ex eo audivi, legione unâ et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse. Idque etiam adversùs Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, et velut è conspectu libertas tolleretur.

25. Ceterùm æstate, quâ sextum officii annum inchoabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium, et infesta hostili exercitu itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit: quæ ab Agricolâ primùm adsumpta in partem virium, sequebatur

[1] *Nave prima.* "Crossing *the Firth of Clyde*, or *Dumbarton-Bay*, and turning to the Western coast of *Argyleshire*, or the Isles of *Arran* and *Bute*. Perhaps, however, Tac. has erroneously connected Agricola's 'crossing in a ship' with his establishing posts in that part of Scotland opposite to Ireland; since the nearest land to that Island is Wigton in Galloway, to which he might advance without crossing any channel or firth, and which lies at the extremity of a tract of country much more tempting to a conqueror than the barren hills of *Argyleshire*." Dr. Aikin.

egregiâ specie, cùm simul terrâ, simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac sæpe iisdem castris pedes, equesque, et nauticus miles, mixti copiis et lætitiâ, sua quisque facta, suos casus attollerent: ac modò "silvarum et montium profunda," modò "tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa," hinc "terra et hostis," hinc "auctus Oceanus" militari jactantiâ compararentur. "Britannos" quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, "visa classis obstupefaciebat, tamquam, aperto maris sui secreto, ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur." Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, majore famâ, utì mos est de ignotis, "oppugnâsse ultro," castella adorti, metum, ut provocantes, addiderant: "regrediendumque citra Bodotriam, et excedendum potiùs, quàm pellerentur," ignavi specie prudentium admonebant: cùm interim cognoscit, "hostes pluribus agminibus inrupturos." Ac ne superante numero, et peritiâ locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tres partes exercitu incessit.

26. Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repentè consilio, universi nonam legionem, ut maximè invalidam, nocte adgressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem cæsis vigilibus, inrupere. Jamque in ipsis castris pugnabant, cùm Agricola, iter hostium, ab exploratoribus edoctus, et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque adsultare tergis pugnantium jubet, mox ab universis adjici clamorem: et propinquâ luce fulsere signa: ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni: et Romanis redit animus; ac securi pro salute, de gloriâ certabant: ultro quinetiam erupere: et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis prœlium, donec pulsi hostes; utroque exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse auxilio viderentur: quòd nisi paludes et silvæ fugientes texissent, debellatum illâ victoriâ foret.

27. Cujus constantiâ ac famâ ferox exercitus, "nihil virtuti suæ invium: penetrandam Caledoniam, inveniendumque tandem Britanniæ terminum, continuo prœliorum cursu," fremebant: atque illi modò cauti ac sapientes, prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant: iniquissima

hæc bellorum conditio est: prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. At Britanni non virtute, sed occasione et arte ducis rati, nihil ex arrogantiâ remittere, quominùs juventutem armarent, conjuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, cœtibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem civitatum sancirent: atque ita inritatis utrimque animis discessum.

28. Eâdem æstate cohors Usipiorum, per Germanias conscripta, et in Britanniam transmissa, magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est. Occiso centurione ac militibus, qui ad tradendam disciplinam immixti manipulis, exemplum et rectores habebantur, tres liburnicas, adactis per vim gubernatoribus, ascendêre: et uno remigrante, suspectis duobus eòque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore, ut miraculum provehebantur: mox hàc atque illà rapti, et cum plerisque Britannorum, sua defensantium, prœlio congressi, ac sæpe victores, aliquandò pulsi, eò ad extremum inopiæ venêre, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos vescerentur: atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro prædonibus habiti, primùm à Suevis, mox à Frisiis intercepti sunt: ac fuere, quos per commercia venumdatos, et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos, indicium tanti casûs inlustravit. Initio æstatis Agricola, domestico vulnere ictus, anno antè natum filium amisit. Quem casum neque, ut plerique fortium virorum, ambitiosè, neque per lamenta rursus ac mærorem muliebriter tulit: et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat.

29. Igitur præmissâ classe, quæ pluribus locis prædata, magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos, et longâ pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Grampium pervenit, quem jam hostes insederant. Nam Britanni, nihil fracti pugnæ prioris eventu, et ultionem aut servitium expectantes, tandemque docti, commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et fœderibus omnium civitatum vires exciverant. Jamque super triginta millia armatorum

aspiciebantur, et adhuc adfluebat omnis juventus, et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello, ac sua quisque decora gestantes: cùm inter plures duces virtute et genere præstans, nomine Calgacus,[1] apud contractam multitudinem, prœlium poscentem, in hunc modum locutus fertur.

30. "Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est, hodiernum diem, consensumque vestrum, initium libertatis totius Britanniæ fore. Nam et universi servitutis expertes, et nullæ ultrà terræ, ac ne mare quidem securum, imminente nobis classe Romanâ: ita prœlium atque arma,[2] quæ fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt. Priores pugnæ, quibus adversùs Romanos variâ fortunâ certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant: quia nobilissimi totius Britanniæ, eòque in ipsis penetralibus siti, nec servientium litora aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos habebamus. Nos, terrarum ac libertatis extremos, recessus ipse ac sinus famæ in hunc diem defendit: nunc terminus[3] Britanniæ patet:

[1] "*Calgacus.* In veteri et fabuloso Triadum libro appellatur *Galauc ap Liennauc.* Fortissimi hujus viri oratione nihil præstantius habet tum Græca, tum Romana antiquitas. Omnes dominationis Romanæ artes, vitia omnia, mira arte ac brevitate ibi explicat Tac." Br.

[2] "*Ita prœlium atque arma.* In hoc rerum statu prœlium et arma, non fortibus tantùm honesta, sed ipsis etiam ignavis necessaria et tutissima sunt. Priores Britannorum pugnæ, quibus adversùs Romanos variâ fortunâ certatum est, spem alteram ac subsidium præsens habebant in nostris civitatibus, ad quas confugere, in nostris manibus, quæ hostem vincere poterant. Nos enim, totius Britanniæ nobilissimi, eòque in ipsis penetralibus, nempe in Caledoniâ, *l'Ecosse*, siti, nec servientium Gallorum littora aspicientes, oculos quoque à contactu Romanæ dominationis inviolatos habebamus. Nos, terrarum ac libertatis extremos, recessus ipse ac sinus famæ, (audacter et egregiè dictum, ut terrarum ac famæ finis exprimatur,) in hunc diem defendit." Br.

[3] "*Nunc terminus.* Ita libri omnes scripti et editi. At alium verborum ordinem postulat ipse sensus, et leg.: *Nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos, recessus ipse ac sinus famæ in hunc diem defendit: atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est: sed nunc terminus*

atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est. Sed nulla jam ultrà gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa, et infestiores Romani: quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium et modestiam effugeris: raptores orbis, postquàm cuncta vastantibus defuere terræ, et mare[1] scrutantur: si locuples hostis est, avari; si pauper, ambitiosi: quos non Oriens, non Occidens, satiaverit: soli omnium,[2] opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt: auferre, trucidare, rapere falsis nominibus, *imperium;* atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, *pacem* appellant."[3]

31. "Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse voluit: hi per delectus, alibi servituri, auferuntur: conjuges sororesque etsi hostilem libidinem effugiant, nomine *amicorum* atque *hospitum* polluuntur. Bona fortunasque in tributum egerunt; in annonam frumentum: corpora ipsa ac manus, silvis ac paludibus emuniendis,[4] inter verbera ac contumelias, conterunt.

Britanniæ patet: nulla jam ultrà gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa: et infestiores Romani:—id est, fluctibus saxisque feriores. Vide *Nott. et Emendd.* ad c. 30." Br.

[1] "*Et mare.* Id est, etiam mare scrutantur. Certè Romani mare scrutabantur, cùm Britanniam ac maximè Caledoniam peterent." Br.

[2] "*Soli omnium.* Ex omnibus hominibus soli. *Omnium* ad opes ne referas." Br.

[3] "*Pacem appellant.* Inde in scriptoribus tam sæpe occurrit *pax Romana:* et in nummis PAX. PAX ORBIS TERRARUM." Br.

[4] *Paludibus emuniendis.* "Certainly, Sir, the gaining of Marshland in Norfolk, and Holland in Lincolnshire, was a work very ancient, as by many circumstances may be gathered; and therefore, considering the industry and skill of the Romans, I conceive it most like to have been performed by them. Mr. Cambden in his *Britannia*, speaking of the Romans in Britain, hath an observation out of Tac. in his *Life of Agricola;* which Dr. Holland, (who translated Cambden,) delivers thus, viz. 'that the Romans wore out and consumed the bodies and hands of the Britains in clearing of woods and paving the fenns.' But the words of Tac. are, *paludibus emuniendis*, of which I desire your opinion; I mean whether the word *emuniendis* do not mean 'walling or banking?'" Sir Wm. Dugdale in *a Letter to Sir Th. Browne* dated Oct. 4, 1658. and inserted in *the Posthumous Works of the Learned Sir Th. Browne* London 1712.

Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a

p. 2. "Your observation is singular, and querie very ingenious, concerning the expression of Tac. in *the Life of Agricola*, upon the complaint of the Britains, that the Romans consumed and wore out their bodies and hands, *sylvis et paludibus emuniendis*, that is, whether thereby 'walling or banking the fenns' is not to be understood according to the signification of the word *emunire?* This indeed is the common and received signification, as probably derived from the old word *mœnire*, that is, *mœnibus cingere*, 'To wall, fence, or fortifie by enclosure,' according to the same acception in warlike munitions and entrenchments. But in this expression strictly to make out the language of the Author, a sense is to be found agreeable unto woods as well as fenns and marshes; the word *emuniendis* relating unto both, which will but harshly be expressed by any one word in our language, and might cause such different and subexpositive translations. And this may be made out from the large signification of the word *munire*, which is sometimes taken not only 'To wall, fence, or enclose,' but also 'To lay open and render fit for passage.' So is that of Livy (21, 37.) expounded by learned men, when in the passage of Hannibal over the Alps, he saith, *Rupem muniendam curavit*, that is, 'He opened a passage through the rock;' and, lest the word should be thought rather to be *minuendam*, a few lines after the word is used again, *Et quies muniendo fessis hominibus triduo data.* And upon the same subject the like expressions are to be found in the Latin Translation of Polybius, set forth by Casaubon, *Labore improbo in ipso præcipitio viam munivit.* And for the getting down of his carriages and elephants, from the hills covered with ice and snow, it is afterwards said, *Numidus ad viam muniendam per vices admovet, vixque tertio demum die elephantos trajecit*, which cannot well be understood by raising any banks and walls, but by removing the snow, plaining the ways, and making it passable for them. Which exposition is received by Godelevæus upon Livy, and also the learned Turnebus *Advers.* 13, (18.):—*Interpretor autem* munire, *per rupem viam aperire eamque in ea munire et tanquam struere, eam cædere et opere laboreque militari complanare, et æquare iter aut deorsum deprimere et declive reddere quodam anfractu molli. Itaque qui aggerem jaciunt, fossas aperiunt, vias muniunt, militiæ* munitores *vocantur.* And therefore, when Dr. Holland translated this passage in Cambden out of Tac., 'By clearing of woods and paving the fenns,' he may be made out by this acception of *munire*, extending unto fenns and woods, and comprehending all pioneers' work about them. As likewise Sir Henry Savile, when he ren-

dominis aluntur: Britannia servitutem suam quotidie

dreth it, 'By paving of boggs and woods,' and as *viam munire* is also taken in Livy, that is, *lapidibus sternere*." [Dr. Aikin: —'Even our bodies are worn down amidst stripes and insults in clearing woods and draining marshes.'] "And your own acception may also be admitted, of 'walling and banking the fenns,' which the word will also well bear in relation to *paludibus*, besides the other signification of Causies, Ways, and Passages, common unto woods and fenns; nor only the clearing of woods and making of passages, but all kind of pioning and slavish labour might be understood in this speech of Galgacus, which with stripes and indignities was imposed upon Britains in works about woods, boggs, and fenns; and so comprehend the laborious aggers, banks, and works of securement against floods and inundations, wherein they were employed by the Romans, a careful and provident people, omitting no way to secure or improve their dominions and lands, lost by careless ignorance in the disadvantages of sea and waters, and which they were first to effect, before they could well establish their causies over the marshes. And so the translation in two words may be tolerably made by one, By clearing the woods and fenns, that is, the woods by making them passable, by rendring them open and less fit for retreat or concealment of the Britains; and by clearing the fenns either for passage or improvement, and so comprehending cawsing, paving, draining, trenching, fencing, and embanking against thieves or sea-floods." Sir Th. Browne's *Letter* in reply, dated Nov. 10, 1658. p. 5. Sir Wm. Dugdale in his answer dated Nov. 17. p. 9. says:—"Yours of the 10th. instant came safe to my hands, with that learned discourse inclosed, concerning the word *emunire*, wherein I perceive your sense is the same with my good friends, Mr. Bishe and Mr. Junius, with both whom I have also consulted about it." Forcellinus:—"*Emunire silvas* est purgare, pervias facere et itineri aptas; *emunire paludes*, siccare et calcabiles reddere: quo sensu etiam *munire vias* dicimus. Tac. *Agric.* 31." Cic. *in Verr.* 6, 53. *Fons aquæ dulcis, qui fluctu totus operiretur, nisi munitione ac mole lapidum a mari disjunctus esset.* Tac. *Ann.* 1, 56. *Munitio fluminum*, (h. e. riparum,) *ne inundatio fiat.* The matter may be thus summed up:—*Emunire silvas* is a legitimate phrase to denote 'clearing woods;' *emunire paludes* is a legitimate phrase, if employed to denote 'embankment,' but not, if used to signify 'draining.' Tac. says, *Silvis ac paludibus emuniendis*, and, by a figure very frequent in him, (hendiadys,) he may have put one verb to govern two nouns, to one of which only it is, in strictness of speech, applicable; but in this case it

emit, quotidie pascit. Ac sicut in familiâ recentissimus quisque servorum et conservis ludibrio est: sic in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu, novi nos et viles in excidium petimur. Neque enim arva nobis, aut metalla, aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. Virtus porrò ac ferocia subjectorum ingrata imperantibus: et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum, quò tutius, eò suspectius. Ita sublatâ spe veniæ, tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus, quàm quibus gloria carissima est. Trinobantes, fœminâ duce, exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac, nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere jugum potuere: nos integri et indomiti, et libertatem non in præsentiâ laturi, primo statim congressu non ostendamus quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit?"[1]

is singular that the verb properly belongs to the first-mentioned noun, while it is placed after both, whereas in other instances it is united with the first, and implied with the second.

[1] "*Et libertatem non in præsentiâ laturi—non ostendamus—seposuerit.* Ita quidem recentiores Edd. aliter autem vett. libri scripti et editi. Forte scripserat Tac.: *Et in libertatem, non prædam certaturi, primo statim congressu vividè ostendamus quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit.* Vide *Nott.* et *Emendd.* ad c. 31." Br.

Primo —— seposuerit. "In *J. Agricolæ Vita*, in oratione Galgaci ad Britannorum exercitum, *Nos integri et indomiti et libertatem non in præsentia laturi, primo statim congressu unde ostendamus, quos sibi Caledonia viros posuerit*, insigniter depravatus locus: sæpius molesta mora legenti mihi, de eo tandem studiose et cum cura vagatus per singulos scripturæ apices sic statui leg. *Et libertatem non jam P. R. servitia laturi, primo statim congressu demum ostendamus, quos etc.* Maxima mendi indoles ex ignoratione notarum *P. R. servitia*, i. e. *populi Romani servitia,* quæ imperiti librarii corruperunt in *præsentia;* at aperta et clara emendatio mea, in qua si erro, lubet testari mihi suavem errorem meum. *Unde* mutavi in *demum*, inversis tantum literis aptissime; nam alloquitur hic bellicus concionator Caledonios, qui populi remotissimi et penitissimi Britanniæ, ideoque, ut ait, adhuc integri et bello intacti, nunc primum vero tentati, cum reliqui citeriores Britanni omnes jam domiti, et sub jugum agerent Romanorum." Extract from *a Letter* written by Hieron. Groslatius Lislæus to Jac. Lectius, inserted in the *Philol. Epist. Centuria una diversorum a renatis Literis DD. VV.* p. 357.

32. "An eamdem Romanis in bello virtutem, quàm in pace lasciviam adesse creditis? Nostris illi dissensionibus ac discordiis clari, vitia hostium in gloriam exercitûs sui vertunt: quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus, ut secundæ res tenent, ita adversæ dissolvent: nisi si Gallos, et Germanos, et, (pudet dictu![1]) Britannorum plerosque, licèt dominationi alienæ sanguinem commodent, diutiùs tamen hostes quàm servos, fide et affectu teneri putatis: metus et terror est, infirma vincula caritatis: quæ ubi removeris, qui timere desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia victoriæ incitamenta pro nobis sunt: nullæ Romanos conjuges accendunt: nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt: aut nulla plerisque patria, aut alia est: paucos numero, circùm trepidos ignorantiâ, cœlum ipsum, ac mare, et silvas, ignota omnia circumspectantes, clausos quodammodò ac vinctos Dii nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus aspectus, et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit, neque vulnerat.[2] In ipsâ hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus: agnoscent Britanni suam

"In *Agric.* ita Galgacus *primo statim congressu unde ostendamus, quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit*, ad quæ Lips. Vere corrigo, *prima statim congressione;* et hoc Mureto placuit: ego puto pro illo *unde* legendum *vivide*, ut Virg. *vivida virtus*, et Horat. *vividus impetus* usurparunt. Memini hoc Dominicum Baudium, cum de hoc ipso loco sententiam meam exquisisset, vehementer approbasse: verum postea mihi commonstravit, sic Jos. quoque Scal. in eo Tacito correxisse, quem supremis testamenti tabulis heros nobilissimus ei dederat: quo fit, ut conjecturam tunc neglectam hic posuerim; ut enim vera fortassis non sit, tamen multum est, quod eam judicio excellentis viri tueri possim." J. Rutgers. *Venus. Lectt.* 31. p. 415.

[1] "*Pudet dictu.* Singulariter dictum pro *pudet dicere.* Plaut. tamen *Bacch.* 3, 1. dixit: *Neque mei, neque tui intus puditum est factis, quæ facis.* Et Val. Max. 9, 13. n. 2. *Nec relatione familiaria, quia dictu fastidienda sunt.*" Br.

[2] "*Neque tegit, neque vulnerat.* Bene et barbaro dignum. Ornatiùs, sed non meliùs, Liv. 10, 39. *Non cristas vulnera facere, et per picta atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum, et candore tunicarum fulgentem aciem, ubi res ferro geratur, cruentari.*" Br.

causam: recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem: desereent illos ceteri Germani, tamquam nuper Usipii reliquerunt. Nec quidquam ultrà formidinis: vacua castella, senum coloniæ, inter malè parentes et injustè imperantes, ægra municipia et discordantia: hìc dux, hìc exercitus: ibi tributa et metalla, et ceteræ servientium pœnæ, quas in æternum proferre, aut statim ulcisci, in hoc campo est. Proinde ituri in aciem, et majores vestros, et posteros cogitate."

33. Excepere orationem alacres, et barbari moris cantu, et fremitu, clamoribusque dissonis. Jamque agmina, et armorum fulgores, audentissimi cujusque procursu: simul instruebantur acies: cùm Agricola, quamquam lætum et vix munimentis coercitum militem accendendum adhuc ratus, ita disseruit:—"Octavus annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani, fide atque operâ vestrâ Britanniam vicistis: tot expeditionibus, tot prœliis, seu fortitudine adversùs hostes, seu patientiâ ac labore pænè adversùs ipsam rerum naturam opus fuit, neque me militum, neque vos ducis pœnituit. Ergò egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniæ, non famâ, nec rumore, sed castris et armis tenemus. Inventa Britannia, et subacta. Equidem sæpe in agmine, cùm vos paludes, montesve, et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cujusque voces audiebam, Quandò dabitur hostis, Quandò acies? Veniunt è latebris suis extrusi: et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque prona victoribus, atque eadem victis adversa. Nam ut superâsse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transîsse æstuaria, pulchrum ac decorum in frontem;[1] ita fugientibus periculosissima, quæ hodie prosperrima sunt.[2] Neque enim nobis aut

[1] "*In frontem.* In speciem. Sic Seneca *Cons. ad Helv.* 5. *Itaque ego in illis, quæ omnes optant, existimavi semper, nihil veri boni inesse: quin inania et specioso ac decepturo fuco circumlita inveni, intrà nihil habentia fronti suæ simile.*" Br.

[2] "*Hodie prosperrima sunt.* Silvas enim evasisse, transîsse æstuaria, tantum itineris superâsse hodie prosperrimum est: sed si fugiebant Romani, periculosissimum erat." Br.

locorum eadem notitia, aut commeatuum eadem abundantia: sed manus, et arma,[1] et in his omnia. Quod ad me attinet, jam pridem mihi decretum est, neque exercitûs, neque ducis terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors turpi vitâ potior; et incolumitas ac decus, eodem loco sita sunt: nec inglorium fuerit, in ipso terrarum ac naturæ fine cecidisse."

34. "Si novæ gentes atque ignota acies constitisset: aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer: nunc vestra decora recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. Ii sunt, quos proximo anno, unam legionem furto noctis adgressos, clamore debellâstis: ii ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi: ideoque tamdiu superstites. Quomodò silvas saltusque penetrantibus, fortissimum quodque animal contrà ruere, pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pelluntur; sic acerrimi Britannorum jam pridem ceciderunt: reliquus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium: quos quòd tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt novissimi: res et extremo metu corpora defixere in his vestigiis, in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. Transigite cum expeditionibus, imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem,[2] adprobate reipublicæ numquam exercitui imputari potuisse, aut moras belli, aut causas rebellandi."

35. Et adloquente adhuc Agricolâ militum ardor

[1] "*Sed manus, et arma.* Sic fermè Liv. 5, 42. *Arma tantùm ferrumque in dextris, velut solas reliquias spei suæ, intuentes.*" Br.

[2] *Magnum diem.* "Veteribus *magni* erant *amici* homines potentes, qui ab inferioribus, ut clientibus patroni, observantia omni et officio necessitudinis et obsequii colebantur: Curius ad Cic. *Ep.* 7, 30. *Sed, amice magne, noli hanc epistolam Attico ostendere*, Juvenal. *Sat.* 6. *calcas Conjugis urinam, magnos visurus amicos*, i. e. dum salutatum is homines potentes: Tac. *Agric.* (34.) *magnum diem*, felicissimæ et lætissimæ victoriæ diem, quo bellum erit totum confectum nullis superstitibus ejus reliquiis, appellat, *Transigite*, inquit, *cum expeditionibus, imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem:* appellat idem et *magnas animas*, excellentium et præstantium virorum animos et manes, cum ita scribit, *Si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnæ animæ.*" Adr. Turnebi *Advers.* 3, 24. p. 60.

eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est, statimque ad arma discursum. Instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quæ octo millia erant, mediam aciem firmarent: equitum tria millia, cornibus adfunderentur: legiones pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriæ decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellanti, et auxilium, si pellerentur. Britannorum acies in speciem simul ac terrorem editioribus locis constiterat, ita ut primum agmen æquo, ceteri per acclive jugum connexi velut insurgerent: media campi covinarius et eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. Tum Agricola, superante hostium multitudine, veritus, ne simul in frontem, simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat, et "arcessendas" plerique "legiones" admonebant, promptior in spem, et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.

36. Ac primo congressu eminùs certabatur: simul constantiâ, simul arte Britanni, ingentibus gladiis, et brevibus cetris, missilia nostrorum vitare, vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere: donec Agricola tres Batavorum cohortes, ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent: quod et ipsis vetustate militiæ exercitatum, et hostibus inhabile parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus: nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum, et in arcto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur, ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora fœdare, et tractis,[1] qui in æquo obstiterant, erigere in colles aciem cœpere; ceteræ cohortes, æmulatione et impetu commistæ, proximos quosque cædere: ac plerique semineces, aut integri, festinatione victoriæ relinquebantur. Interim equitum turmæ fugêre, covinarii peditum se prœlio miscuere: et quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium

[1] "*Et tractis.* Meliùs, *et fractis,* ut volebat Muret.: vel potiùs, *et prostratis,* ut conjicere licet ex Mss. Vatic. Vide *Nott. et Emendd.* ad c. 36. Victum prostratumque est primum agmen Britannorum, quod in æquo constiterat, ut modò dictum est cap. sup." Br.

agminibus, et inæqualibus locis hærebant: minimèque equestris ea pugnæ facies erat, cùm ægrè diu stantes, simul equorum corporibus impellerentur, ac sæpe vagi currus, exterriti, sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos, aut obvios incursabant.

37. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnæ expertes summa collium insederant, et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredi paullatim, et circumire terga vincentium cœperant: ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quatuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantòque ferociùs accurrerant, tantò acriùs pulsos in fugam disjecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum: transvectæque præcepto ducis à fronte pugnantium alæ, aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum verò patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum: sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem, oblatis aliis, trucidare. Jam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervæ armatorum paucioribus terga præstare, quidam inermes ultro ruere, ac se morti offerre. Passim arma, et corpora, et laceri artus, et cruenta humus: et aliquandò etiam victis ira virtusque: postquàm silvis appropinquârunt, collecti, primos sequentium, incautos et locorum ignaros, circumveniebant. Quod ni frequens ubique Agricola, validas et expeditas cohortes indaginis modo, et sicubi arctiora erant, partem equitum, dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare jussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterùm, ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus vidêre, in fugam versi, non agminibus, ut priùs, nec alius alium respectantes, rari, et vitabundi invicem, longinqua atque avia petiere: finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit: cæsa hostium ad decem millia: nostrorum trecenti sexaginta cecidere: in quîs Aulus Atticus, præfectus cohortis, juvenili ardore et ferociâ equi hostibus illatus.

38. Et nox quidem gaudio prædâque læta victoribus: Britanni palantes, mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu, trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos, ac per iram ultro incendere: eligere latebras, et statim relinquere: miscere invicem consilia aliqua, dein separare: aliquandò

frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, sæpiùs concitari:[1] satisque constabat sævisse quosdam in conjuges ac liberos, tamquam misererentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriæ latiùs aperuit: vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius: quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugæ vestigia, neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum, et exactâ jam æstate spargi bellum nequibat, in fines Horestorum exercitum deducit. Ibi acceptis obsidibus, præfecto classis "circumvehi Britanniam" præcepit: datæ ad id vires, et præcesserat terror: ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quò novarum gentium animi ipsâ transitûs morâ terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. Et simul classis secundâ tempestate ac famâ Trutulensem portum tenuit, unde proximo latere Britanniæ lecto omnis redierat.

39. Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nullâ verborum jactantiâ epistolis Agricolæ auctum, ut Domitiano moris erat, fronte lætus, pectore anxius excepit. Inerat conscientia, derisui fuisse nuper falsum è Germaniâ triumphum, emptis per commercia, quorum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur: at nunc veram magnamque victoriam, tot millibus hostium cæsis, ingenti famâ celebrari. Id sibi maximè formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra Principis attolli: frustra studia fori, et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet:[2] et cetera utcumque faciliùs dissimulari, ducis boni Imperatoriam virtutem esse. Talibus curis exercitus, quodque sævæ cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo[3] satiatus, optimum in

[1] "*Sæpius concitari.* Verè observatum à Tac. *Hist.* 2, 44. homines *extremâ desperatione ad iram sæpius, quam in formidinem* stimulantur." Br.

[2] "*Alius occuparet.* Domitianus, alienæ laudis osor, studia fori, civiles artes, ipsamque philosophiam in silentium egerat, viris, hâc laude claris, neglectis, aut ex Urbe pulsis. Quæ tamen omnia frustra recidebant, si Agricola militarem gloriam nunc occuparet. Cetera facilius dissimulari; boni autem ducis decus, virtutem esse propriam Principis, qui Imperatoris nomine exercitibus præesset." Br.

[3] "*Secreto suo.* Inde Plin.

præsentiâ statuit, reponere odium,[1] donec impetus famæ et favor exercitûs languesceret: nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

40. Igitur "triumphalia ornamenta, et illustris statuæ honorem, et quidquid pro triumpho datur," multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu jubet, addique insuper opinionem, Syriam provinciam Agricolæ destinari, vacuam tum morte Atilii Rufi consularis, et majoribus reservatam. Credidere plerique libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam, codicillos, quibus ei Syria dabatur, tulisse, cum præcepto, ut, si in Britanniâ foret, traderentur: eumque libertum in ipso freto Oceani obvium Agricolæ, ne appellato quidem eo, ad Domitianum remeâsse: sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio Principis fictum ac compositum est. Tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam quietam tutamque. Ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentiâ occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio, noctu in Urbem, noctu in palatium, ita ut præceptum erat, venit: exceptusque brevi osculo, et nullo sermone, turbæ servientium immixtus est. Ceterùm ut militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus: adeò ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem æstimare mos est, viso aspectoque Agricolâ, quærerent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

41. Crebrò per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est: causa periculi non crimen ullum, aut querela læsi cujusquam, sed infensus virtutibus Princeps, et gloria viri, ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes. Et ea insecuta sunt reipublicæ tempora, quæ sileri Agricolam non sinerent: tot exercitus in Mœsiâ Daciâque, et Germaniâ Pannoniâque, temeritate

Paneg. 48. Domitianum exhibet, *tenebras semper secretumque captantem, nec umquam ex solitudine sua prodeuntem, nisi ut solitudinem faceret.*" Br.

[1] "*Reponere odium.* Differre odium." Br.

aut per ignaviam ducum amissi: tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati[1] et capti: nec jam de limite imperii et ripâ, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. Ita cùm damna damnis continuarentur, atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola: comparantibus cunctis vigorem, constantiam, et expertum bellis animum, cum inertiâ et formidine eorum. Quibus sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et livore, pronum deterioribus Principem exstimulabant. Sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum, in ipsam gloriam præceps agebatur.

42. Aderat jam annus, quo proconsulatum Asiæ et Africæ sortiretur, et occiso Civicâ nuper, nec Agricolæ consilium deerat, nec Domitiano exemplum. Accessere quidam, cogitationum Principis periti, qui, "iturusne esset in provinciam," ultro Agricolam interrogarent: ac primò occultiùs "quietem et otium" laudare, mox "operam suam in adprobandâ excusatione" offerre: postremò non jam obscuri, suadentes simul terrentesque, pertraxere ad Domitianum: qui paratus simulatione, in arrogantiam compositus, et audiit preces excusantis, et, cùm adnuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est: nec erubuit beneficii invidiâ:[2] salarium tamen, proconsulari soli-

[1] "*Expugnati.* Ita quoque verbo *expugnare* usus est Lucr. 4, 1007. *Reges expugnant, capiuntur, prœlia miscent.*" Br.

[2] *Nec erubuit beneficii invidia.* "Tac. scribit *Ann.* 1, 8. *Conclamant patres, corpus ad rogum humeris senatorum ferendum: remisit Cæsar adroganti moderatione.* Lipsius primo credidit illud *remisit* eo valere, ut non sit factum, quod tamen senatores fecisse, Dio testatur: quæ adseveratio certe Lipsio indigna est; nam hæc remissio sane beneficii species erat, quod obtrudi non potest, et quis adfirmabit *remittere* semper cum effectu capiendum esse? *Remiserat* sane *tota civitas in honorem patris pœnæ necessitatem adolescentulo,* quæ tamen exacta est, temperante patre, ut inter se ac filium partiretur supplicium, ut in Val. Max. 6, 5, 3. legitur. Postea Lipsius *remisit* hic pro *permisit* capiendum esse statuit; sed hanc significationem luculenter excussit, et præclara admonitione ejus verum usum

tum offerri, et quibusdam a seipso concessum, Agricolæ

ostendit J. F. Gronov. *Obss.* 4, 2. Idem Gronov. alio modo explicat, ut intelligatur, cessisse Tiberium in adversando instantibus patribus; sed omnia ejus exempla probant, tum demum ita capi potuisse, si Tac. scripsisset, *remisit de moderatione*, aut *in moderando;* præpositio enim plane necessaria esset, utcunque alias omitti solita, nisi ἀμφιβολίαν vix excusabilem Tacito tribuere velimus. Ego vi sua et naturali maxime significatu hæc verba, prouti cuivis legentium se statim offerunt, capio. Obsequor ea in re magnopere Taciti ingenio, qui planis verbis sensus validos et profundos condere solet. Valet hoc *remisit* non eo, ut non sit factum, sed ut pulcherrima imagine Tiberii ludibria, quibus libertati insultabat, exprimantur; solebat enim, teste Cornelio *Ann.* 1, 77. tam inania *simulacra libertatis senatui præbere*, ut in his solis, quæ ad adulandum principem pertinebant, principi non parere, jus esset: ita *Ann.* 3, 70. legimus, *Recipi Cæsar inter reos vetuit, palam adspernante Ateio Capitone, quasi per libertatem;* hoc enim tum verum adulationis ingenium erat. Quare hoc *remisit* hic non verecundia, (potuisset enim intercedere jure tribunitiæ potestatis, nisi modestiam fingeret,) sed *moderatione adroganti*, quasi sc. solam molestiam rei, per se non injustæ, senatoribus remitteret; hæc enim adrogantia in ista moderatione erat, superbe gratiam tanti dedecoris facere patribus, si uti beneficio vellent, nec intercedere, ut sordida adulatione et sui studii venditandi necessitate exsolverentur. Ita *Ann.* 6, 23. *Consultusque Cæsar, an sepeliri sineret, non erubuit concedere. Non erubuit* notat hic quoque adrogantiam, qui concessit, quæ non nisi apud superbum principem concessione egebant; moderatus enim princeps jussisset potius, quam concessisset. Qui ergo occultus respectus in iis verbis ad *jubere* est, idem in his est ad *intercedere.* Dabit nostræ explicationi pondus locus insignis ex *Agric.* 42. *Qui paratus simulatione, et in adrogantiam compositus, et audiit preces excusantis, et, cum adnuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est ; nec erubuit beneficii invidiâ:* hæc invidia beneficii erat, hæc quoque in adnuendo, quod tamen, simulationem ac speciem injuriæ circumdans, re ipsa vetuerat, adrogantia, quod moderationem fictam et suspicionibus obtensam simulacris inanibus jactabat. Idem sane ὀξύμωρον in *beneficii invidia*, quod alias favorem parere solet, et in *adrogante moderatione*, quæ alias verecundiæ est. Ita est profecto, Tacitus, dum adrogantiam hujus remissionis expressit, lectori non supino et mores principis ac senatus, tunc ad vilissimas adulationes projecti, sollertius pensitanti, satis indicavit, quid acciderit. Nam senatui, nulla intercessione facta, non licebat fictæ remissioni fidere: vide *Ann.* 1, 13. *Spem esse ex eo, non irritas fore senatus preces, quod relationi consulum*

non dedit: sive offensus, non petitum, sive ex conscientiâ, ne quod vetuerat, videretur emisse. Proprium humani ingenii est, odisse quem læseris: Domitiani verò natura præceps in iram, et quò obscurior, eò irrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiâque Agricolæ leniebatur: quia non contumaciâ, neque inani jactatione libertatis, famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris est illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis Principibus magnos viros esse: obsequiumque ac modestiam,[1] si industria ac vigor

jure tribunitiæ potestatis non intercessisset: hoc nos modo decebit Taciti occultos sensus, et otiosos, aut aliud agentes, vocularum sectatores fugientem ἐνέργειαν rimari atque eruere." C. Crusii *Probab. Crit.* 27—9.

[1] *Obsequiumque ac modestiam.* "Lips. *accedere* rescribit: ego libentius reddo Tacito antiquam et probatissimam vocem *escendere*, qua usus etiam alibi, et ut magis audacter adfirmem, ita legi debere, facit quod sequitur *per abrupta.* Restituo eamdem vocem, simulque aculeum satyricum Juvenali *Sat.* 6. (620.) *minus ergo nocens erit Agrippinæ Boletus: si quidem unius præcordia pressit Ille senis, tremulumque caput escendere jussit In cælum, et longam manantia labra salivam.* Omnes libri tam scripti, quam excusi, non aliter habent quam *descendere:* contra quos tamen audeo omni adseveratione contendere leg. esse, *tremulumque caput escendere jussit In Cælum;* nam illud *descendere in cælum*, præterquam quod vix commodum, imo nullum sensum habet, non æque morsui satyrico aptum, atque hoc nostrum: et hic vere nugantur omnes Interpretes, et quæ afferunt, frigidiora nive Gallica, ut ajunt; nam affectasse jocum ex impossibili, quod sit impossibile descendi in cœlum, si diis placet, explicant pro *sepulcro*, quod κοιλὸν logi alogi, et delirantium deliramenta: doceant me descendi in cœlum, non vero escendi, tum, quod volent. Dicam, quod res est, respicit ad ἀποθέωσιν Claudii, quam irridet et insectatur non absque minore felle, quam Seneca noster. Ansa corrumpendi loci fuit, primum insolentia vocis, deinde cæsura ignorata librario, qui putabat ea corrumpi modulum versus." [Ruperti is silent about this conjecture, which he also does not notice among the various readings, but he cites Britannicus, who vindicates the old reading *descendere:* — 'Hysterologia per contrarium, sic etiam locutus est Sen. *Posteaquam Claudius in cælum descendit:* sic et Stat. *Silv. Nondum stelligerum senior demissus in axem*, et alibi Juven.' and adds that some understand improperly the descent to the Elysian fields.] "Hujus verbi frequentissima corruptio apud optimos scriptores, sed fere semper ut hic,

adsint, eò laudis excedere, quò plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum reipublicæ usum, ambitiosâ morte inclaruerunt.

43. Finis vitæ ejus nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine curâ fuit. Vulgus quoque, et hic aliud agens populus, et ventitavere ad domum, et per fora, et circulos locuti sunt: nec quisquam, auditâ morte Agricolæ, aut lætatus est, aut statim oblitus est. Augebat miserationem constans rumor, "veneno interceptum." Nobis nihil comperti adfirmare ausim: ceterùm per omnem valetudinem ejus, crebriùs, quàm ex more principatûs per nuntios visentis, et libertorum primi, et medicorum intimi venêre: sive cura illud, sive inquisitio erat. Supremo quidem die, momenta deficientis per dispositos cursores nuntiata constabat, nullo credente, sic accelerari, quæ tristis audiret. Speciem tamen doloris animo vultuque præ se tulit, securus jam odii, et qui faciliùs dissimularet gaudium, quàm metum. Satis constabat, lecto testamento Agricolæ, quo coheredem optimæ uxori et piissimæ filiæ Domitianum scripsit, lætatum eum, velut honore judicioque: tam cæca et corrupta mens assiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret à bono patre non scribi heredem, nisi malum Principem.

in *descendere*, ut adverti ap. Cic. *pro Plancio*, (*Consuli P. Nasicæ præco Granius medio in foro, cum ille, edicto justitio, domum descendens rogasset Gr.* etc.' leg. *escendens*; nam Nasicæ domus in superiore urbis parte:) in *Offic.* et alibi, item in C. Curtio Rufo, Macrobio, Aulo Gellio, Plauto, Cæsare, Seneca, aliisque, quorum locos hic non enoto, quod mihi nec eorum libri, nec, ut ita dicam, memoria ad manum, nec, si essent, otium: quin et ap. Sallust. *Cat.* illo loco, qui, si non fallor memoriæ, sic habet, *Est in carcere locus, quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paullulum ascenderis ad lævam circiter* XII. *pedes humi depressus*, (τὸ *humi* mihi glossam subolet, Cic. de latomiis Syracusanis, *Verr.* 7. *Totum est ex saxo in mirandam altitudinem depresso*, tamen nihil muto,) memini me legere in optimo Cod. Ms., quem studiose cum impresso comparavi, vice τοῦ *escenderis*, exaratum vitiose *descenderis*, pro *escenderis*, quo verbo nec alio hic usum censeo Sallustium, ut et alibi sæpe, ut scis." Extract from *a Letter* written by Hieron. Groslatius Lislæus to Jac. Lectius, inserted in the *Philolog. Epist. Centuria una diversorum a renatis Literis VV. DD.* p. 358.

44. Natus erat Agricola, Caio Cæsare, tertiùm consulis, Idibus Juniis: excessit sexto et quinquagesimo anno, decimo Calendas Septembres, Collegâ Priscoque consulibus. Quòd si habitum quoque ejus posteri noscere velint, decentior quàm sublimior fuit: nihil metûs in vultu: gratia oris supererat: bonum virum facilè crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integræ ætatis ereptus, quantùm ad gloriam, longissimum ævum peregit. Quippe et vera bona, quæ in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat; et consularibus ac triumphalibus ornamentis prædito, quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? Opibus nimiis non gaudebat; speciosæ contigerant; filiâ atque uxore superstitibus, potest videri etiam beatus, incolumi dignitate, florente famâ, salvis adfinitatibus et amicitiis, futura effugisse. Nam sicutì durare in hâc beatissimi sæculi luce, ac Principem Trajanum videre, quod augurio votisque apud nostras aures ominabatur: ita festinatæ mortis grande solatium tulit, evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non jam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo, et velut uno ictu, rempublicam exhausit.

45. Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam, et clausum armis senatum, et eâdem strage tot consularium cædes, tot nobilissimarum fœminarum exilia et fugas. Unâ adhuc victoriâ[1] Carus Metius censebatur, et intrà Alba-

[1] *Una adhuc victoria censebatur.* "Solin. *Polyhist.* 13. *Dodone Ismaro celsa est:*—lego literulæ unius mutatione *censa est*, i. e. Dodone censetur et æstimatur ob nobilem illum montem Ismarum. Latinitas jam deficiens hoc loquendi genere potissimum usa est. Latinus Pacatus *Paneg.* (4.) *Sint*, inquit, *Gargara proventu læta tritici, Mæonia memoretur armentis, Campania censeatur monte Gaurano, Lydia prædicetur amne Pactolo:* ita Martialis Epigr. 1, 62. *Censetur Apona Livio suo tellus:* Plin. *Paneg.*, *In præsentia quidem, quisquis paulo vetustior miles, hic te commilitone censetur:* Juvenal. *Sat.* 8. *sed te censeri laude tuorum Pontice noluerim:* Claudian., *nec laude virorum Censeri contenta fuit, nisi matribus æque Vinceret:* Val. Max. 5, 2. *Et sane amplissimæ ac speciosissimæ divitiæ sunt, feliciter erogatis beneficiis late posse censeri.* Hunc loquendi modum

nam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Bebius jam tum reus erat. Mox nostræ duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus: nos Maurici, Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos, jussitque scelera, non spectavit: præcipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat, videre et

potissimum reperies apud scriptores ævi Flaviorum principum et posteriorum, quod vel ex adductis testimoniis patet: quin et jurisconsultis hæc locutio familiaris: Papinian. L. ult. D. de suis et legitimis, *Privatorum cautiones legum auctoritate non censentur*, Ulpianus, L. I. D. ad municipalem, *Aliquo privilegio maternam originem censeri*, dixit: idem L. I. de justitia et jure, *Videmus enim cætera quoque animalia istius juris peritia censeri*, qui locus frustra a vv. dd. sollicitatur." C. Gevartii *Electorum* L. I, c. 9. p. 33-5. "*Censere* etiam est ἀποτιμᾶν, proprieque *eorum* est, *qui civium et subditorum bona æstimant et pro conditione et modo eorum tributum imponunt, vel imperant*, *faire le dénombrement de, mettre les taxes sur le peuple*, Cic. *Verr.* 4, 56. *Quinto quoque anno Sicilia tota censetur, Att.* 1, 18. extr. *Ne absens censeare, curabo edicendum.* Hinc qua re quid excellit, notabileque atque insigne maxime est, eo *censeri* et dicitur, h. e. æstimari, prædicari, *être estimable*, Ovid. *Amor.* 2, 15, 2. *Annule, formosæ digitum vincture puellæ, In quo censendum nil nisi dantis amor, qui n'est considérable que par rapport à l'amitié de celui, qui donne*, Val. Max. 5, 3, extr. 3. *Aristides, quo totius Græciæ justitia censetur, continentiæ quoque eximium specimen, patria excedere jussus est*, q. d. si Aristidæ justitiæ laudem negaris, non habuit virum justum tota Græcia, Apul. *Apol.* 311. *Iste summus helluo studio bibendi solo censetur*, Auctor *Dial. de Caussis corruptæ Eloquentiæ* c. 39. extr. *Ipsi quoque non aliis magis orationibus censentur*, Senec. *Ep.* 76. *Id in quoque optimum est, cui nascitur, quo censetur*, i. e. ad quod a natura factus, et in quo ea de caussa plurimum potest, idque ex eo æstimatur maxime, ac clarus est." B. Fabri *Thes. Erud. Schol.* J. M. Gesner adds the following additional instances :—"*Censeri*, *æstimationem, auctoritatemque assequi, in pretio haberi*, Cic. *pro Archia* 13, 6. *Atque hoc mihi concedendum est magis, quod ex his studiis hæc quoque censetur oratio et facultas*, etc. i. pretium et æstimationem meretur, et in primis laudatur, a Græcis δοκεῖν dicitur, sic Budæus, et legitur in emendatis Codd., al. *crescit oratio*; Cic. *Parad. ult.*, *Si censenda nobis, atque æstimanda res, utrum pluris æstimabimus.*" In the Lexicon of Forcellinus, and Facciolati, are cited Plin. 36, 5. *Non vitibus tantum censeri Chium, sed et operibus Antermi filiorum*, Suet.

aspici: cùm suspiria nostra subscriberentur:[1] cùm denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret sævus ille vultus[2] et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat. Tu verò felix, Agricola, non vitæ tantùm claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis: ut perhibent, qui interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et libens fatum excepisti, tamquam pro virili portione innocentiam Principi donares.[3] Sed mihi filiæque, præter acerbitatem parentis erepti, auget mœstitiam, quòd adsidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu, complexu, non contigit: excepissemus certè mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus: nobis tam longæ absentiæ conditione ante quadriennium amissus es. Omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, adsidente amantissimâ uxore, superfuere honori tuo: paucioribus tamen lacrymis compositus es, et novissimâ in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui.

46. Si quis piorum manibus locus; si, ut sapientibus placet,[4] non cum corpore exstinguuntur magnæ animæ:

de Grammat. 10. *Eratosthenes multiplici, variaque doctrina censebatur,* and they refer to Martial *Epigr.* 9, 17. None of these Critics have quoted Tacitus for the use of the word in this sense.

[1] "*Subscriberentur.* Et in crimen vocarentur." Br.

[2] "*Sævus ille vultus.* Unde Plin. *Paneg.* 48. *Ipse Domitianus occursu quoque visuque terribilis, superbia in fronte, ira in oculis, fœmineus pallor in corpore, in ore impudentia multo rubore suffusa.* Verè Seneca *Ep.* 11. *Quidam numquam magis, quàm cùm erubuerint, timendi sunt, quasi omnem verecundiam effuderint. Sulla tunc erat violentissimus, cùm faciem ejus sanguis invaserat.*" Br.

[3] "*Innocentiam Principi donares.* Tamquam pro virili portione Domitianum absolveres, teque constantiâ et alacritate tuâ non interceptum veneno probares." Br.

[4] "*Ut sapientibus placet.* Epicurei animas cum corpore extingui docuere. Socratici et Platonici eas immortales esse pronuntiârunt. Inter utrosque mediam viam ingressi Stoici, magnas quidem animas felices futuras, et æterna sortituras scripsere: quæ tamen, *cùm Deo visum erit iterum ista moliri, labentibus cunctis,* et ipsæ, parva ruinæ ingentis accessio, *in antiqua elementa* vertendæ sunt. Vide Senec. *Cons. ad Marciam* c. ult. Meliùs veriùsque Macrob. in *Somn. Scip.* 1, 14. *Obtinuit non minùs de incorporalitate animæ, quàm de immortalitate sententia;* eamque nationum omnium

placidè quiescas, nosque, domum tuam, ab infirmo desiderio, et muliebribus lamentis, ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri, neque plangi fas est: admiratione te potiùs, temporalibus laudibus,[1] et, *si natura suppeditet, similitudine decoremus.* Is verus honos, ea conjunctissimi cujusque pietas. Id filiæ quoque uxorique præceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque ejus secum revolvant, famamque ac figuram animi magis, quàm corporis, complectantur: non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus, quæ marmore, aut ære finguntur: sed ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultûs imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis æterna: quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quidquid ex Agricolâ amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet, mansurumque est in animis hominum, in æternitate temporum, famâ rerum. Nam multos veterum, velut inglorios, et ignobiles, oblivio obruet, Agricola, posteritati narratus et traditus, superstes erit.[2]

consensu adstruit Tull. *Tusc. Quæst.* 1." Br.

[1] "*Temporalibus laudibus.* In hâc *Agricolæ Vitâ*, nihil ad poeticam pompam compositum, omnia ad lugentium modestiam exacta. Inde non immortales, sed temporales tantùm et perituras laudes promittit Tacitus. Nec aliter egregius virtutis laudator et auctor Fredericus III. cùm Henricum, Prussiæ Principem, laudaret, scripsit:—'*O Prince, qui saviez combien vous m'étiez cher, combien votre personne m'étoit précieuse; si la voix des vivants peut se faire entendre des morts, prêtez attention à une voix, qui ne vous fut pas inconnue: souffrez que ce fragile monument, le seul, helas! que je puis ériger à votre mémoire, vous soit élevé.*' *Eloge du Prince Henri, par S. M. le Roi de Prusse.* Observaverim in hujus laudationis conclusione egregiam inesse Taciti imitationem, aut potiùs eumdem naturæ sensum atque impetum." Br.

[2] "*Superstes erit.* Non modò superstes erit Agricola; sed ejus vita absolutissimum laudationis exemplar semper habebitur. Id unum, ad amplificandam et apud nos æternandam Agricolæ famam, optaverim, ut vita hæc, quam Illustrissimus Nivernensium Dux Gallico sermone reddidit, publici juris fiat: miro tum virtutum et literarum certamine quis eorum sit maximus, isne qui ita vixerit, an qui ita scripserit, an qui ita fuerit interpretatus." Br.

AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE GERMANY.

Ch. 2. *Mannum*. "It has been observed by travellers that barbarous nations generally distinguish themselves by a name expressing *man*, and denote the rest of mankind by some degrading appellation: supposing this custom to have prevailed in Mount Caucasus, the Amadi may have been a tribe of Armenians, in whose language *mard* signifies '*man*:' in that of the Ossi it is *leg*, and it may have been a tribe of these people, who were called *Legæ*: the Tagori were perhaps the Dugoreans: in the language of the Circassians, '*man*' is called *tsoog*; and in that of the Abkhas, *agoo*: these nations occupy the country of the Ζυχοὶ and 'Αχαιοί." *Memoir of a Map of the Countries comprehended between the Black Sea and the Caspian, with an Account of the Caucasian Nations*, London, 1788. p. 13. "This sacred title (of *Menes*, *Manes*, *Mannus*, or *Menus*,) seems to have been known also among the ancient Celts, no less than among the Greeks and the Egyptians. There is yet remaining in the County of Cornwall, as we are informed by Dr. Borlase p. 200. a Stone-Monument, which bears the name of *Carn-Menelez*; and the British Island *Mona*, the British Frith *Menai*, and the Sicilian City *Menæ*, which was in the neighbourhood of the Lake of the Palici, (Steph. B. 550.) seem equally to be compounded of *Men-Ai*, 'the land of Menes.' Nor were the Gothic Tribes unacquainted with the name and history of our great common progenitor. We learn from Tacitus (*Germ.* 2.) that they venerated Tuisto, who, according to their tradition, sprung from the earth, and along with him his son *Mannus*. These they supposed to have been the ancestors of their nation; and to Mannus, the second of their deities, they assigned three sons. In the person of Tuisto we clearly recognise the primitive father of

mankind, formed by the hand of God from the dust of the earth; and Mannus is no less evidently *Manes, Manus,* or *Noah:* while the three sons of the one are the triple off-spring of the other. It is remarkable that the ancient Irish called their principal marine Deity *Mann,* and had a wild legend respecting his formerly presiding over the *Isle of Man,* on which he bestowed his name, *Collect. de Reb. Hibern.* 5, 507. This *Mann* is evidently the same as the German *Mannus.*" *Faber's Diss. on the Mysteries of the Cabiri* 2, 194. The Moguls believe that a widow-woman called Alancoua was by præter-natural means impregnated and delivered of three sons, *Bucan, Bosky,* and *Buzengir,* who in process of time gave their names to three considerable Tribes, of which they were the chiefs, and who received from the Moguls the surname of *Niron,* i. e. *Nouranyoun,* "the Children of Light," which was continued to their successors: see *M. P. de La Croix's Hist. of Genghizcan the Great* p. 8—11. See also Lord Teignmouth's *Life of Sir William Jones* 2, 249.

"When we compare Tacitus's Treatise *on the Manners of the Germans* with Lafitau's account of the *American Tribes,* we cannot but be struck with the similarity of the subject; and we may remark that at the period, when Tacitus wrote, when the Roman Empire was in its meridian glory, Germany, Gaul, and Britain, now the seats of science and literature, were nearly in the same state of unpolished nature, which is the present characteristic of the American Tribes, whom Lafitau describes." *The Microcosm* 1, 58. Some few instances of similarity between the ancient barbarians of Germany and the uncivilised hordes of the present day, in various parts of the world, shall be produced by me; but the subject is too extensive for the narrow limits of a School-book.

"There is something in the character and habits of the North-American Savage, taken in connexion with the scenery, over which he is accustomed to range, its vast lakes, boundless forests, majestic rivers, and trackless plains, that is, to my mind, wonderfully striking and sublime. He is formed for the wilderness, as the Arab is for the desert. His nature is stern, simple, and enduring; fitted to grapple with difficulties, and to support privations. There seems

but little soil in his heart for the growth of the kindly virtues; and yet, if we would but take the trouble to penetrate through that proud stoicism and habitual taciturnity, which lock up his character from casual observation, we should find him linked to his fellow-man of civilized life by more of those sympathies and affections than are usually ascribed to him." Geoffrey Crayon's *Sketch-Book* 2, 152. Edn. 12°.
"It is to be regretted that those early Writers, who treated of the discovery and settlement of America, have not given us more particular and candid accounts of the remarkable characters, that flourished in savage life. The scanty anecdotes, which have reached us, are full of peculiarity and interest; they furnish us with nearer glimpses of human nature, and show what man is in a comparatively primitive state, and what he owes to civilization. There is something of the charm of discovery in lighting upon these wild and unexplored tracts of human nature; in witnessing, as it were, the native growth of moral sentiment, and perceiving those generous and romantic qualities, which have been artificially cultivated by society, vegetating in spontaneous hardihood and rude magnificence. In civilized life, where the happiness, and indeed almost the existence of man depends so much upon the opinion of his fellow-men, he is constantly acting a studied part. The bold and peculiar traits of native character are refined away, or softened down by the levelling influence of what is termed *good-breeding;* and he practises so many petty deceptions, and affects so many generous sentiments, for the purposes of popularity, that it is difficult to distinguish his real, from his artificial character. The Indian, on the contrary, free from the restraints and refinements of polished life, and, in a great degree, a solitary and independent being, obeys the impulses of his inclination, or the dictates of his judgment; and thus the attributes of his nature, being freely indulged, grow singly great and striking. Society is like a lawn, where every roughness is smoothed, every bramble eradicated, and where the eye is delighted by the smiling verdure of a velvet-surface: he, however, who would study nature in its wildness and variety, must plunge into the forest, must explore the glen, must stem the torrent, and dare the precipice." P. 169.

It was the opinion of the pagan Arabs that upon the death of any person, a bird, by them called Manah, issued from his brain, which haunted the sepulchre of the deceased, uttering a lamentable scream. This notion is alluded to in Job XXI. 32. —

See also page 167.

Ch. 4. *Minime—sitim æstumque tolerare, frigora atque inediam cœlo soloque adsueverunt,* 15. *Quoties bella non ineunt, non multum venatibus, plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno ciboque,* 23. *Cibi simplices, agrestia poma, recens fera, aut lac concretum, sine apparatu, sine blandimentis, famem expellunt.* But, though their food was simple, yet their appetite was voracious. We read in the 25th Fable of the Edda, (Mallet's *Northern Antiquities* 2, 90.) the following story :—"Loke said that his art consisted in eating more than any other man in the world, and that he would challenge any one at that kind of combat. It must, indeed, be owned, replied the King, that you are not wanting in dexterity, if you are able to perform what you promise. At the same time he ordered one of his Courtiers, who was sitting on a side-bench, and whose name was Loge, to come forward, and try his skill with Loke in the art they were speaking of. Then he caused a great tub, or trough full of provisions to be placed on the bar, and the two champions at each end of it: who immediately fell to devour the victuals with so much eagerness, that they presently met in the trough, and were obliged to desist. But Loke had only eat the flesh of his portion ; whereas the other had devoured both flesh and bones. All the company, therefore, adjudged that Loke was vanquished." We find, in *the Havamaal, or Sublime Discourse of Odin* p. 156. two exhortations against gluttony, which prove the voracity of German appetites :—"The gluttonous man, if he is not upon his guard, eats his own death ; and the gluttony of a fool makes the wise man laugh." "The flocks know when to return to the fold, and to quit the pasture ; but the worthless and *slothful* know not how to restrain their gluttony."

Mr. Barrow in his *Travels in Africa* 1, 102.:—"Rather than to take the trouble of procuring food by the chace, or by digging the ground for roots, the Hottentots will cheerfully fast the whole day, provided they may be allowed to sleep. Instances frequently occurred in the course of our journey, when our Hottentots have passed the day without a morsel of food, rather than give themselves the trouble of walking half a mile to procure a sheep. Yet, patient as they are of hunger, they are at the same time the greatest gluttons upon the face of the earth. Ten of our Hottentots

eat the whole carcase of a middle-sized ox, except the two hind-legs, in three days; but they had very little sleep during the time, and had fasted the two preceding days. With them the word is to eat or to sleep. When they cannot indulge in the gratification of the one, they generally find immediate relief in the arms of the other."

Ch. 7. *Ad matres, ad conjuges vulnera ferunt; nec illæ numerare aut exigere plagas pavent.* We are told in the 18th Fable of the Edda, (Mallet's *Northern Antiquities* 2, 72.) 'that Eira performs the office of physician to the Gods.' Mallet subjoins this note:—"Tacitus informs us that the Germans had no other Physicians but their women; they followed the armies to stanch and suck the wounds of their husbands. In like manner, all the histories, and romances of the North always represent the females, and often Princesses charged with this care." [Thus in *the History of the Swedish Kings, Charles, and Grymer, and of Hialmar, the Son of Harec, King of Biarmland*, we read that, on the arrival of Grymer, who had been severely wounded in his combat with Hialmar, the King and his daughter being informed of his danger, 'the Princess cheerfully undertook his cure,' which she effected, 2, 193. But, in the *Magic of Odin*, Odin says 'that he knows a song, which *the sons of men* ought to sing, if they would become *skilful physicians*,' 162.] "The same thing may be observed of almost all nations in their infancy." [Among the American Indians, however, the Priests are the Doctors, as we are informed in Lewis and Clarke's *Travels* p. 78.] "But no people had ever a stronger confidence in the women's skill in medicine than our Celtic and Gothic ancestors. 'Persuaded,' says Tacitus, 'that there was something divine in that sex,' they submitted when sick, to their opinion and decision with that implicit confidence, which is due to supernatural knowledge. Indeed all the science of medicine, that was employed in those times, was little else but magic applied to the cure of diseases. The evils and the remedies were most commonly nothing else but lots, possessions, conjurations, and enchantments. And the mountaineers in many parts of Europe know of no other to this day. The superstition of shepherds in this respect is well known. The prejudices of these poor people are only reliques of what al heads were

once full of. After this, regret who will, the loss of ancient times." Mr. Barrow in his *Travels* in China p. 347. :—"The Priests are also a kind of Doctors, and make plasters for a variety of purposes, some to draw out the disease to the part applied, some as charms against the evil spirits, and others, which they pretend to be aphrodisiac; all of which, and the last in particular, are in great demand among the wealthy. In this respect the Chinese agree with most nations of antiquity, whose Priests were generally employed as Physicians."

With the female warrior, Boudicea, the reader should compare the account of La Comtesse de Saint Balmont, contemporary with Louis XIV., in Seward's *Anecdotes of distinguished Persons* 4, 202—7. and also Mr. Blaquiere's account of the modern Greek heroines in his *History of the Greek Revolution*, which is on the eve of publication.

"I have often had occasion to remark the fortitude, with which women sustain the most overwhelming reverses of fortune. Those disasters, which break down the spirit of a man, and prostrate him in the dust, seem to call forth all the energies of the softer sex, and give such intrepidity and elevation to their character, that at times it approaches to sublimity. Nothing can be more touching than to behold a soft and tender female, who had been all weakness and dependence, and alive to every trivial roughness, while treading the prosperous paths of life, suddenly rising in mental force to be the comforter and supporter of her husband under misfortune, and abiding, with unshrinking firmness, the bitterest blasts of adversity. As the vine, which has long twined its graceful foilage about the oak, and been lifted by it into sunshine, will, when the hardy plant is rifted by the thunderbolt, cling round it with its caressing tendrils, and bind up its shattered boughs: so it is beautifully ordered by Providence, that woman, who is the mere dependant and ornament of man in his happier hours, should be his stay and solace, when smitten with sudden calamity; winding herself into the rugged recesses of his nature, tenderly supporting the drooping head, and binding up the broken heart." Geoffrey Crayon's *Sketch-Book* 1, 29. Edn. 12°.

Ch. 15. *Quoties bella non ineunt, non multum venatibus, plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno ciboque. Fortissi-*

mus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque, et infirmissimo cuique ex familia, ipsi hebent; mira diversitate naturæ, cum iidem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem. Barrow, in his *Travels in Southern Africa* 1, 157., says in his account of the Kaffers:—"While the men are employed in rearing and attending the cattle, the women are engaged in the affairs of the house, and in cultivating the ground." The Chinese employ their women in cultivating the ground, as we are informed by the same Writer p. 141:—"I have frequently seen women assisting to drag a sort of light plough, and the harrow: Nieuwhoff, in one of his Prints taken from Drawings supposed to be made in China, yokes, if I mistake not, a woman to the same plough with an ass: should this be the fact, the Chinese are not singular, if we may credit the Natural Historian of antiquity (16, 21.), who observes that, to open the fertile fields of Byzacium in Africa, it was necessary to wait, until the rains had soaked into the ground; 'after which a little weakly ass, and an old woman, attached to the same yoke, were sufficient to drag the plough through the soil,' *post imbres vili asello, et a parte alterajugi anu vomerem trahente vidimus scindi.* In the Province of Kiangsee nothing is more common than to see a woman drawing a kind of light plough, with a single handle, through ground, that has been previously prepared; the easier task of directing the machine is left to the husband, who, holding the plough with one hand, at the same time with the other casts the seed into the drills." Compare Sir G. Staunton's Account of the *Embassy to China* 2, 505. who in 1, 349. informs us that "the women at Cochinchina, who were more numerous than the men, were actively employed in works of husbandry," and 351. that "indolence was prevalent among the men, while the women were assiduously employed in domestic occupations, or in the labours of agriculture."

Ch. 18. *Quanquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris.* Mr. Bell of Antermony says in his *Travels* 1, 31. that "it must be observed for the honour of the Kalmuck women, that they are very honest and sincere, and few of them lewd; adultery is a crime scarce

ever heard of." He adds in p. 33.:—"They believe virtue leads to happiness, and vice to misery; for, when desired to do what they think wrong, they reply in a proverb, 'Though a knife be sharp, it cannot cut its own handle.'" Mr. Turner in his Account of *Tibet* p. 352.:—"Instances of inconstancy are rare; but, if a married female be found to violate her compact, the crime is expiated by corporal punishment; and the favoured lover effaces the obloquy of his transgression by a pecuniary fine." Mr. Park in his *Travels in Africa* p. 296.:—"When adultery occurs, it is generally left to the option of the person injured, either to sell the culprit, or accept such a ransom for him, as he may think equivalent to the injury he has sustained." In the first Volume of Harris's Collection of Voyages and Travels p. 799. we are told "that the women of Madagascar are very famous for their fidelity to their husbands, who place so great a value upon them, that they will scarce undertake anything of moment without their advice."

Ch. 19. *Literarum secreta viri pariter ac feminæ ignorant.* "Sunt qui Tacitum istis verbis negasse existimant, artem scribendi Germanis fuisse cognitam, in eaque sententia fuisse deprehendo Georgium Hornium (*Hist. Philos.* L. II, c. 11. p. 117.) Hermannum Conringium (*Disp. de Nomothetica* §. 27.) J. Strauchium (*Diss. I. ad Taciti Germ.* c. 3, §. 3. p. 9.) Paulum Hachenbergium (*in Germania media Diss.* VII, §. 2. p. 136.) Cl. Jac. Burkhardum (*de Fatis Ling. Lat. in Germ.* c. I. p. 25, 6, 7.: vid. idem operis laudati P. II, c. I. p. 1. sqq.) et—Leibnitium (*in Actis Erud. Suppl.* T. IV. p. 238.) quemque primo loco nominare debebam, Andream Althamerum, qui hunc in modum Taciti verba explanat (*Comment. ad h. l.*):—*Germania vetus studiosissima Martis cultrix Palladem Musasque penitus ignoravit, literarum mysteria nescivit, nec ullam honestarum disciplinarum scholam literarumque studium habuit: nulli exstiterunt ingenuarum artium periti*, cetera. At nec desunt, qui Germanos olim ne pingere quidem literas scivisse, persuadere sibi non possunt, ideoque Taciti verba de literatura arcana, vel de literis mythologicis, aut magicis, capere malunt: placuit hæc opinio Morhofio (L. *de Germanorum Ling.* P. II, c. 6. p. 274.) Heigio (vid. Morhof.) Omeisio Cl.

(*Introd. ad Poesin Germ.* p. 9.) Reimanno Cl. (*Hist. Liter. Germ.* L. II. Sect. I, §. 33. p. 23.) cf. Spenerus (*Hist. Germ.* L. I, c. 6, §. 9. p. 97.) Egenolfo (*Miscell. Lips.* T. I. *Obs.* p. 256.) aliis, quibus id visus est Tacitus significasse per *literarum secreta.* Denique alii, altius inspecto Taciti loco, per *literarum secreta* capi debere censuerunt *epistolas amatorias*, earumque commercium Germanis inusitatum fuisse, a Tacito significari: est hoc in numero insignis ille Taciti Interpres, Lipsius, itemque Berneggerus (*Quæst.* XCIX. *ad Taciti Germ.;*) ac recentiori ætate hanc amplexati sunt sententiam Werlhofius (*Notit. S. Rom. Imp.* L. I, c. 2, §. 41. lit. f.) JCtus Academiæ Juliæ præstantissimus, Thomasius (*Disp. de Hominibus propriis Germanorum* §. 10.) ac Gudlingius (*Hist. Philos. Mor.* c. 6, §. 4. p. 56.) viri illustres, Georgius Ikesius (*Grammar. Franco-Theot.* p. 2.) Jac. Carolus Spenerus (*Notit. Germ. antiq. Proœm.* §. X. not. f. ubi et Colerum atque Gronovium hujus interpretationis approbatores laudat,) Godofr. Hechtius (*Germ. sacr. et liter.* P. I, L. II, c. 10. p. 61.,) J. A. Egenolfus (p. 257.) et qui singulari id edisseruit Disputatione, Andreas Ludovicus Koenigsmannus (*Disp. de Origine Literarum amatoriarum*, Kilon, 1708.), cui subscribit Mich. Lilienthalius (in *Selectis Hist. et Liter. Obs.* X, §. 5. p. 323.). Ad me quod attinet, facile perspicio, secundam, quam dixi, sententiam a vero aberrare, primam vero ac tertiam amice conjungendas existimo; Tacitum enim de *amatoriis epistolis* esse capiendum, satis et abunde patet e verbis, quæ et præcedunt, et sequuntur proxime: en integrum locum, *Ergo septa pudicitia* (feminæ in Germania) *agunt, nullis spectaculorum illecebris, nullis conviviorum irritationibus corruptæ: literarum secreta viri pariter ac feminæ ignorant: paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria, quorum pœna præsens, et maritis permissa:* sc. ad Romanarum suarum mores respicit Tacitus, quas spectaculorum conviviorumque occasione corrumpi solere, nec minus clandestino literarum commercio, cum constaret in vulgus, talia in Germania fieri negat Tac., Germanorumque pudicitiæ debitum tribuit præconium. Ac rectissime monuit subtilis ille Thomasius (*Disp.* cit. §. 6.) huncce Taciti librum interpretaturo probe considerandum esse, Tacitum Romanorum Germanorumque mores toto isto libro inter se contendere,

atque adeo *ubique alterum mentis oculum ad Romanos suos, alterum ad Germanos intendere ;* accidit quippe Tacito idem, quod Francisco Petrarchæ, qui suis in *Epistolis* (L. I, *Epist.* 3. p. 9.), *Germaniam tandem*, inquit, *Rhenique ripas attigi, contemplatus sollicite mores hominum, et adspectu telluris incognitæ delectatus, ac singula cum nostris conferens.* Negat itaque Tacitus, moris esse in Germania, illicitos amores epistolis ultro citroque missis, vel inflammare, vel inflammatos fovere atque alere : at Romæ adeo non erant incognita illa amantium colloquia epistolica, ut, artis amandi præcipuam hanc fuisse partem, vel ex Ovidio notum sit, qui de accurate scribendis hujus generis epistolis præcepta dedit, hunc orsus in modum *de Arte Am.* I, 457.

Ergo eat, et blandis peraretur litera verbis :

clandestinas igitur hasce epistolas Tac. vocat *literarum secreta*, Græco usus loquendi modo, uti alibi locorum dixit *plana urbis, inania famæ, aspera maris, incerta belli, sæva ventorum*, quæ una cum aliis quamplurimis hujus generis formulis, apud Latinos Scriptores obviis, exhibet in *Hellenolexia* (p. 126. seqq.) sua Vechnerus. Cæterum non solum amatoriarum, sed omnium omnino literarum usu Germanos caruisse, Tac. docere, haud facile abnuet, qui attentius ipsius verba expenderit : *Literarum*, inquit, *secreta viri pariter ac feminæ ignorant*, h. e. *noli putare Germanos Romanorum more epistolis uti amoris internuntiis ; imo vero tantum abest, ut hoc modo amorem inter se concilient et alant, ut non feminæ solum, quæ quidem et Romæ pertenuem literis operam dant, sed etiam viri literas exarare amatorias, clandestinoque uti epistolarum commercio, prorsus nesciant :* atqui amatorias qui scribere nescit epistolas, eum omnis artis scribendi expertem esse oportet ; scribere enim qui valet, idem ad Glyceriam suam dare potest literas : quod igitur de Getis olim perscriptum reliquit Ovidius (*e Ponto* III, 8, 21.) arma iis esse pro libris,

Hos habet hæc calamos, hos hæc habet ora libellos,
Hæc viget in nostris, Maxime, Musa locis :

idem vere dici de majoribus nostris poterat :—A.M.DCCXXII. prodiit Wittebergæ J. Guil. Bergeri cl. et in illustrem nuper locum evecti Professoris, *Disp.* de eodem hoc Tac. loco, in qua contendit a Tac. per *literarum secreta* tantummodo *amatorias*

describi *literas*, adeoque non obstare illud Tac. testimonium, quo minus veteres Germani credantur fuisse literis exculti: videat igitur lector, uter rem acu tetigerit, Bergerusne an ego, qui ita sentio Tac. loqui de literis amatoriis, ut simul omne literarum genus a Germanis removerit." Chr. Aug. Heumanni *Pœcile* T. I, L. 4. p. 636—46.

Ch. 8. *Puellæ quoque nobiles.* "An *nubiles?*" N. Heins. This conjecture is very ingenious—the proposed alteration consists in the mere substitution of *u* for *o;* and the similarity of those letters in ancient Mss. is so great, that they may have been, and undoubtedly often have been confounded by the copyists. But the passage requires no alteration whatever—the conjecture makes no improvement in the sense or the language of Tac.; it violates probability; it is unsupported by that historical record, which abundantly vindicates the common reading; and it is contrary even to the practice of the Turks in the present contest with the Greeks:—"Igitur ad Germanos referam, quod generatim a Suet. *Aug.* 21. scriptum: *A quibusdam novum genus obsidum, feminas exigere tentavit, quod negligere marium pignora sciebat.* Etsi cur id Tranquillo novum? Romani ipsi virgines obsides Porsenæ olim dederunt, interque eas Clœliam. Athenæus id primum inventum Cleonymo Spartano vult, parum vere, 13, 28. Ἐμοὶ γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν δοκεῖ πεποιηκέναι Κλεώνυμος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος εἰς ὁμηρίαν λαβὼν παρὰ Μεταποντίων γυναῖκας παρθένους τὰς ἐνδοξοτάτας καὶ καλλίστας διακοσίας. Ubi discis, Metapontinos, imo credo ceteros Italiæ populos, habuisse antiquitus hunc morem." Lips. The rational and reasonable commentator will reject with firmness all the attempts of ingenious, but rash critics, at improving the sense or dignifying the diction of the ancient Writers—he will have recourse to emendation only in cases of real necessity; only in instances, where the received reading violates the propriety of the language, is a deviation from the practice of the author, is incapable of any satisfactory interpretation, is contrary to the opinion of the author, or to the testimony of contemporaries, or involves any serious contradiction of any kind:—

Est modis in rebus: sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.

These Monuments of departed Genius must not be polluted by profane hands under the impious pretences of repairing their defects and of improving their graces. Nothing is wanting from a modern chisel, where the blemish is in the old and original work; and nothing can be either useful or ornamental, which is at once fictitious and meretricious. All such "attempts at improvement are like heightening the beauties of Paradise, or mending the air of Elysium," (Robt. Hall's *Apology for the Freedom of the Press* p. 46. Edn. 7th.) Horace *Epist.* 1, 11, 30. has said that even in a place possessed of no local attractions happiness may be found, if we can find sufficient equanimity to enjoy it,

Est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit æquus.

A friend of mine not remarkable for brilliancy of intellect or pruriency of conjecture gravely proposed to read *est ubi vis*, an improvement, which belongs to the class of unauthorised, unsupported, and unnecessary emendations.

Ch. 38. *Insigne gentis* (Suevorum) *obliquare crinem, nodoque substringere.* Sir G. Staunton, in his Account of Lord Macartney's *Embassy to China* 1, 421. informs us that the women of the Chusan Islands "had their hair plaited and coiled, becomingly, into a knot upon the crown of the head, as is sometimes seen on the female statues of antiquity." Robert Heron's *Letters of Literature*, London, 1785. p. 61.: —"To your observations on the barbarism of some modern customs may be added those, which arise from the following lines of Juvenal in his 13th *Satire:*

Cœrula quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam
Cæsariem madido torquentem cornua cirro?

Who would have thought that our side-curls and frizzled *toupee* had such antiquity, but along with that such barbarism, as to be the fashion of the Germans, ere they left their native woods? Tacitus, in his excellent Book of *the Manners of the Germans*, mentions their twisting their locks into horns and rings, as he calls them. It is curious to observe that a custom, invented in the most barbarous times, should again be brought into vogue at the most polite period."

Ch. 6. *Cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes, consilii quam formidinis arbitrantur.* "We stigmatise the Indians as

cowardly and treacherous, because they use stratagem in warfare, in preference to open force; but in this they are fully justified by their rude code of honour. They are early taught that stratagem is praiseworthy; the bravest warrior thinks it no disgrace to lurk in silence, and take every advantage of his foe; he triumphs in the superior craft and sagacity, by which he has been enabled to surprise and destroy an enemy. Indeed, man is naturally more prone to subtlety than open valour, owing to his physical weakness in comparison with other animals. They are endowed with natural weapons of defence, with horns, with tusks, with hoofs and talons; but man has to depend on his superior sagacity. In all his encounters with these, his proper enemies, he resorts to stratagem; and when he perversely turns his hostility against his fellow-man, he at first continues the same subtle mode of warfare. The natural principle of war is to do the most harm to our enemy with the least harm to ourselves; and this of course is to be effected by stratagem. That chivalrous courage, which induces us to despise the suggestions of prudence, and to rush in the face of certain danger, is the offspring of society, and produced by education." Geoffrey Crayon's *Sketch-Book* 2, 161.

Ch. 43. *Nigra* (Ariorum) *scuta, tincta corpora, atras ad prœlia noctes legunt.* Sir G. Staunton relates in his account of Lord Macartney's *Embassy to China* 2, 455. that the Chinese troops "carry a shield of bamboo or rattan, painted hideously to represent dragons' or tigers' heads with open mouths and enormous teeth," and that "much stress is laid upon this terrific appearance." Ogilby says in his account of *Japan* p. 22. :—"To be clad in black among them signifies triumphs and joy, which everywhere else are the habits of mourning and sorrow, onely white amongst them being the dress of loss and disaster."

Ch. 43. *Nam primi in omnibus prœliis oculi vincuntur.* "Olo, the Son of Syward, King of Norway by the sister of Harold King of the Danes, had so truculent an aspect, that what others did with weapons, he did with his eye upon his enemies, frighting the most valiant amongst them with the brandishes of his eye, Zuing. *Theatr.* 2, 380. Saxo Gramm. L. 7." Wanley's Wonders of the little World p. 28. Edn. 4to. 1791.

Ch. 21. *Luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero.* Dr. Marsden, in his *History of Sumatra* p. 176., says that all punishments are by the laws of the country commutable for fines.

Ch. 9. *Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus, humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent,* 40. *Mox vehiculum et vestes, et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit.* "Though the existence of a Deity has been admitted as well in the darkest as the most enlightened ages, and though it is equally supported by the testimony of tradition and the authority of reason; yet the ideas entertained of his attributes have been much diversified by various causes in the constitution of men's minds, or in the circumstances of their situation. The Northern Nations, fierce and unpolished in their manners, assailed by the severities of an inclement sky, and habituated to the contemplation of dreary wastes or rugged mountains, have arrayed their Deities in every terrible quality. Among the inhabitants of the East, whose tempers seem to be cast in a softer mould, and whose senses are accustomed to more delicate and more beautiful prospects of nature, the characters of their Gods wear a lovelier aspect. The same propensity in the worshipper to assimilate the object of his worship to his own ruling passions, or his own favourite tenets, may be traced through individuals and sects. The God of the benevolent man is, in his contemplation, surrounded with the mild lustre of benevolence; the God of the malignant is seen only with frowns of displeasure, and armed with the thunderbolt of vengeance. In the Deity of Zeno we perceive much of the sullen dignity and harsh inflexibility, in which the philosopher himself placed the supreme good; and upon the same principles Epicurus ascribed to his Gods that exemption from the solicitude of care, and the bustle of activity, which he represented as essential to happiness, both human and divine. But in the God, whom Christians are commanded to adore, none of those imperfections can be discerned, which are usually and justly imputed to the peculiar sentiments of individuals, or the general habits of nations. Without the jargon of science, and without the rant of enthusiasm, he is

presented to us with all the perfections, which were ever assigned to the divinity by the reason of the contemplative philosopher, or the fancy of the enraptured poet." Dr. White's *Bampton Lecture-Sermons* p. 417. Edn. 2d. Human sacrifices are practised at the Sandwich Islands: see *the Museum*, now *the Literary Museum*, No. 45. p. 131.

Ch. 46. *Hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domos fingunt, et scuta gestant, et peditum usu ac pernicitate gaudent; quæ omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt, in plaustro equoque viventibus.* "Lectio *figunt* non est sollicitanda; nam opponitur *in plaustris vivere.* Sarmatæ in plaustris trahebant domos vagas, sed Venedi domos figebant, i. e. fixas, non mobiles, habebant. *Fingere* quoque non convenit τῷ *plaustro vivere,* neque bene dicitur absolute pro *struere, compingere ex luto.*" Gottfr. Müller in *Kritische Bibliothek für das Schul-und Unterrichtswesen,* Hildesheim 1820, No. 5. p. 400. To this opinion I assent, and the phrase itself is sufficiently vindicated by the following verses of Juvenal 3, 2.

Laudo tamen, vacuis quod sedem figere Cumis
Destinet atque unum civem donare Sibyllæ.

'To fix an abode' is a well known phrase in English. Ernesti, however, was of a different opinion:—"*Domos figunt.* Sic ex meis libris primæ Lipsii Edd. Sed id est vitium operarum, quod fuit in Editione ignobili, cujus exemplum Lipsius accommodavit prælis typographorum; et tamen id ab omnibus seqq. Editoribus Taciti servatum est: Colerus etiam explicavit. Edd. vett. (in his Rom. et Nor.) et bonæ ante Lipsium omnes, quibus usus sum, habent *fingunt,* quod restitui. *Fingunt ædes* hi populi, e luto sc. ut rustici nostri; cum Sarmatæ in plaustris figant vehantque, a quibus illos populos hoc nomine diserte distinguit. Sic ap. Ovid. *Fast.* 1, 158. *hirundo sub trabe celsa luteum fingit opus,* omninoque aves *fingere nidos* apud Cic. *de Or.* 2, 6. dicuntur." Ern. "*Fingunt* ita vett. et recentiores Edd.: Lipsius, *figunt.* At melius *fingunt;* domos enim seu tuguria luto fingebant. Sic apud Plin. 11, 22. bombyces in Assyria *nidos luto fingunt.*" Brotier. "*Fingunt,* Edd. vett. omnes; revocavit Ern. *Figunt,* errorem typographicum Lipsianæ primæ, per multa exemplaria propagavit negligentia editorum." Passow. Yet Müller is not quite correct, when he denies that *fingere* can

be used absolutely for *fingere luto*; for in that case it would signify to *form* (or *build*) *houses*, as Cic. *de Off.* 1, 40, says, *Apium examina non fingendorum favorum causa congregantur; sed, quum congregabilia natura sint, fingunt favos.*

Chr. Aug. Heumann in the *Pœcile sive Epistolæ Miscellaneæ ad Literatissimos Ævi nostri Viros* T. 3, L. 2. p. 248. Halæ 1729. speaks, in warm terms, of a Translation of Tacitus, which was published at Berlin in 1724., and adds, *Si mea Vitæ Agricolæ Interpretatio Germanica non plus habuerit vitiorum, mihi gaudebo et gratulabor.*

" C. C. Taciti *Germaniam* recensuit, et ad studiosæ juventutis intelligentiam Notis perpetuis atque necessariis Indicibus illustravit Jo. Chr. Vetter, Erlangæ 1714. 12. Memorabile est, quod referunt Auctores *Actorum Erudit.* A. 1716. p. 238. ab ingenio Philippi V, Regis Hispanorum, profectam esse Versionem vernaculam *Germaniæ* Taciti, non ita pridem typis excusam, quæ ab utriusque linguæ gnaris præstantissima censetur. *Prælectiones* Paganani Gaudentii in Taciti *Vitam Agricolæ*, Rudolstadii A. 1713. in lucem emisit Rector Scholæ ibidem Jo. Henr. Ackerus. Fertur et Leonhardus Chr. Kühl novam Taciti *de Moribus Germanorum* Editionem in procinctu habere." Chr. Falsteri *Cogitatt. variæ philol.* 1719. p. 134.

In a *Letter*, written by Hieronymus Groslotius Lislæus, addressed to Jacobus Lectius, and inserted in the *Philologicarum Epistolarum Centuria Una diversorum a renatis Litteris D D. VV. ex Bibliotheca Melchioris Haiminsfeldii Goldasti*, re-published by Hermannus Conringius at Leipsic in 1674., in p. 351. occurs the following passage:—"*Quod superest, ago tibi immortales gratias de Variis illis Lectionibus ad Corn. Taciti Librum de Germanorum Moribus, in quos tamen quædam reperi, quæ item in vulgatis; et, puto, ille Codex, unde excerpsisti eas, erat recentioris notæ.*"

Th. Reinesius in a *Letter* to Jo. Andr. Bosius (in *Th. Reinesii et Jo. Andr. Bosii Epistolæ mutuæ varia Philologica et Historica complexæ, quas e Scriniis B. C. Sagittarii, una cum Excerptis Epistt. Cl. VV. ad Editionem Josephi facientibus, publicæ luci dat Jo. Andr. Schmidius,* Jenæ 1700.) says:—*Præmetia Guil. Barclaii in Agricolam laudat alicubi Gevartius, Virdungi Prof. Norici Notas alii.*

"Id unum, ad amplificandam et apud nos æternandam Agricolæ famam, optaverim ut *Vita* hæc, quam Illustrissimus Nivernensium Dux Gallico sermone reddidit, publici juris fiat: miro tum virtutum et literarum certamine, quis eorum sit maximus, isne qui ita vixerit, an qui ita scripserit, an qui ita fuerit interpretatus?" Brotier ad *Agric.* 46.

The following Work, *Fontes, quos Tacitus in tradendis Rebus ante se gestis videatur sequutus, paucis indicat J. H. L. Meierotto, Berolini*, 1795. has been reprinted in *the Classical Journal* T. 8. p. 244.

"Menes first King of Egypt completed the work of the Gods, by perfecting the arts of life, & dictating to men the laws wh he had received from the skies. This Menes (a name wh Eratosthenes makes equivalent to Dionios i.e. Jovialis) can hardly be an historical personage. He establishes a sort of intermediate being between the Gods & the human Kings of the land, a divine type of man, a symbol of intelligence descended from the skies, & creating human society on earth, similar to the Menou or Manou of India, the Minos of Crete, &c." —

Vid. Art Menes in [illegible]

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